

#### EGYPT WELL POLICED.

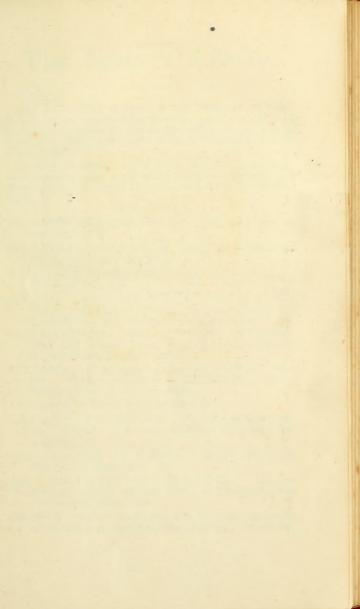
In Egypt one can go anywhere without fear of molestation, for the Egyptian police, organised by British officers, are an admirable body of men. In Upper Egypt he will meet with small garrisons of fifteen or twenty men, commanded by a young British officer, and he knows that should any riot break out this handful represents the might of the British Empire. The work that England has done in policing the country, and in securing justice to the fellahin, can never be over-estimated.

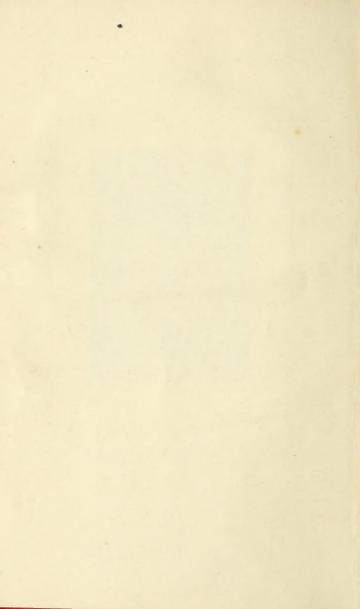






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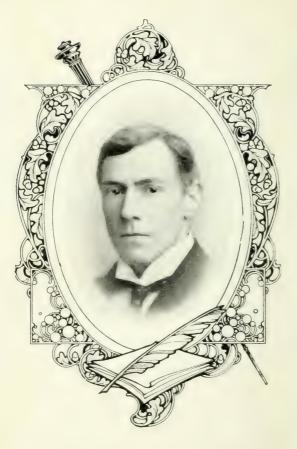
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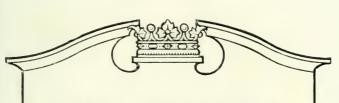
THE FUTURE OF EGYPT

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b. Basil Wonfold



# THE FUTURE OF EGYPT

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W. BASIL WORSFOLD, M. A.



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#### PREFATORY NOTE

In his brief chapter on 'The Future of Egypt'—the last in *Modern Egypt*—Lord Cromer writes:—'It is probable that few Englishmen ever ask themselves seriously the question of *Quo Vadis* in connection with . . , Egyptian affairs.'

In this little book an attempt is made to bring together, in a convenient form, the facts most likely to be of use in the consideration of this question.

W. B. W.



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## The Future of Egypt

#### CHAPTER I

#### THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE word 'Egypt' brings a crowd of memories to the mind. Lying in the centre of the land system of the Eastern Hemisphere, where only the narrow isthmus of Suez separates the waters of Europe and Asia, the country is so singular in its physical conditions, its history goes back so far, its ancient monuments are so numerous and well-preserved, that it has always held a large place in the thoughts of civilised men. But in the last fifty years it has acquired a new significance. The Egypt of to-day has ceased to be merely the Egypt of history and of literature: nor is it merely the gate-house of the chief waterway from Europe to Asia, and a factor in international relations. It is the scene of a national revival achieved under British administration, which is unexampled alike in its suddenness and its completeness.

Since the English occupation, thirty years ago (1882), a singularly degraded Oriental population has been raised from misery to comparative

prosperity, and many obstacles to administrative efficiency have been removed; but some of the old difficulties remain, and political and economic progress has brought new problems and new responsibilities. To Englishmen, then, the new Egypt is even more interesting than the old, since the threads of its destiny are interwoven with the fabric of the British Empire, and its future is a matter in which every British community from Vancouver to Wellington is concerned.

But while it is the present and future development of Egypt which claims chiefly our attention, the past cannot be altogether overlooked. Without a knowledge of the broad features of its history, it is less easy to understand the present conditions of a country and its inhabitants. What is essential, therefore, in the history of ancient and mediæval Egypt must be recalled.

#### THE PAST

Although Egypt has always been regarded for geographical purposes as a part of Africa, its earliest civilised inhabitants (7000 B.C.—5000 B.C.) appear to have been allied racially to Europe; and the Egypt of the Pharaohs (5000 B.C.—525 B.C.), while mainly Asiatic in its origin and associations, drew its life-streams, in part at least, from the same source in Central Asia as the European inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast line. Being the earliest civilised state—i.e. the first aggregation of humanity in which

the individual submitted consciously to the control of the collective will of his fellows-known to history, it imparted the elements of letters and the arts to the rude progenitors of Greece and Rome.

When, therefore, after a relatively brief period of Persian rule (525 B.C.-332 B.C.), the victories of Alexander brought Egypt under European administration, its inhabitants readily assimilated the higher civilisation of the Greek world, and Alexandria became the centre of Hellenistic culture. And the change of national life and character was even slighter when, 300 years later (30 B.c.), Egypt, sharing the fortunes of Greece and Western Asia, became a province of the Roman Empire, and a dependency first of Rome (30 B.C.-A.D. 395), and then of

Constantinople (A.D. 395-A.D. 638).

The real break came seven centuries later with the Mohammedan conquest (A.D. 638), when the pediments and colonnades of Alexandria were replaced by the domes and minarets of Cairo. By this time, Egypt had been for nearly 1000 years an integral portion of the Græco-Roman world, but, when the victorious hosts of the Khalif Omar swept over northern Africa, its inhabitants were submerged utterly by an alien population, a new religion, and an Eastern civilisation. The sharpness of the change is felt in the words in which the Moslem captain, Amru, reported to his master how Alexandria, after fourteen months' siege, had fallen :-

'I have taken,' he wrote, 'the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty, and I shall content myself with observing that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or places of amusement, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetable food, and 40,000 tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory.' 1

The Mohammedan conquest found Egypt a Western state; it left her as characteristically Eastern as Baghdad or Damaseus. The sole link with the past is the Coptic element, a community who practise to-day in Moslem Egypt the rites learnt by their ancestors when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Saracen Egypt became a pashalic of the Ottoman Turks in A.D. 1517, and in A.D. 1806 Mohammed Ali, a Macedonian soldier of fortune, having obtained control of the country, compelled the Sultan to recognise him as Pasha of Egypt. In this capacity he played a great part in the politics of the Near East, and founded the dynasty of the present hereditary rulers, subsequently styled the Khedives,<sup>2</sup> of Egypt.

The appearance of Mohammed Ali, however, marks the commencement of the series of events which, in the nineteenth century, brought Egypt once again into the system of Europe. These events, ranging from the invasion of the country by Napoleon in 1798 to the English occupation of 1882, claim careful attention. They have points of contact with the questions of the Near

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eutychius, Annales, ii. 316 (as quoted by Gibbon).
<sup>2</sup> Khidewi-Misr (Viceroy of Egypt) in Arabic.

Esat that occupy the statesmen of the Great Powers; and it is only by a knowledge of them that we can unravel the tangle of international interests from which the present Government of Egypt is only now emerging. They will, therefore, be reserved for a separate chapter.

In the meantime, with this outline sketch of the past history of Egypt before us, a general idea of the physical conditions of the country, and some account of its present inhabitants, can

be presented.

#### PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

Egypt is bounded on the north by the Mcditerranean Sea; on the east by Syria and the Red Sea; on the west by the Sahara desert; and on the south by a line, running almost due east and west through Wadi Halfa, which divides it from Nubia and the Sudan. This latter, now the joint possession of England and Egypt, stretches southward between Abyssinia and the French Sudan to British East Africa and Uganda-countries which are themselves separated by only some 500 miles of foreign territory from the great British system that runs uninterruptedly from the Congo border to the southern extremity of the continent of Africa.

On the map Egypt (without the Sudan) covers an area of some 400,000 square miles in the northeast corner of Africa; an area more than three times as large as that of the British Isles (121,377 square miles). But the impression of the size of the country, thus gained, is entirely delusive; since its cultivated surface, measuring only 12,026 square miles, is confined, with slight exceptions, to the valley of the Nile, its mouth (styled the Delta), and the oasis of the Fayum. The rest, and by far the greater portion, of the space indicated on the map is desert; and inhabited Egypt is just so much of the desert as has been covered in the course of ages by the dark soil deposited by the Nile, and is watered and fertilised every year by its overflow.

What has happened, according to the geologists, is this. The original surface of this corner of Africa was a limestone plain, falling gently westwards from the mountain crest of the Red Sea coast-line to the chain of western oases which mark the low-lying land once—and comparatively recently—covered by an inlet of the Mediterranean. Beyond the declivity so marked, the surface of the land rises gradually westwards and southwards, until it becomes part of the vast elevated masses which form the main structure of the continent of Africa.

Through this limestone plain the stream of the Nile, drawing its waters from the highlands of Abyssinia and Central Africa, and gathering a powerful momentum by its rapid descent down six successive cataracts in its passage through Nubia, has hollowed out a broad and deep trench, and then filled it with rich, dark soil formed by annual layers of alluvial deposits. This trench, now the Nile Valley, is some 500 miles in length, has an average breadth of 15 miles, and an average depth of 30 feet of deposited soil. In the

Delta, where the river, in making its way to the sea, spreads its deposits fanwise for another hundred miles, the soil is still deeper. To right and left the land remains a barren and arid waste: but the surface of the plane is more broken on the eastern or Arabian, than on the western or Libvan, side of the Nile Valley.

Nor is this all. Egypt, in itself a desert, being surrounded on all but its northern boundary by vast arid regions, is almost rainless; it owes, therefore, not only its ribbon of cultivable soil, but the watering and fertilising of this soil, to the annual two months' overflow of the Nile.1 These physical conditions, which give Egypt its unique character, will be realised the better by reference to the accompanying diagrams. They are compressed by the Greek traveller and historian, Herodotus, into a single illuminating sentence-'Egypt is the gift of the Nile.'



Diagram I. Section of N E Africa from W to E Showing timestone plain and trough of the Nile

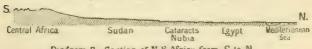


Diagram II. Section of N.E. Africa from S. to N Showing fall of the Nile

The conditions which determine the climate of habitable Egypt are no less simple and clearly defined than those to which it owes its origin.

1 Mid-July to Mid-September.

As the boundary line which separates Egypt from Nubia marks roughly the northern limit of the area of equatorial rains, and vast regions of desert lie east and west, the only rain-bearing winds are those which reach it from the north. But the moisture which these northerly winds gather in their passage over the Mediterranean Sea is deposited rapidly on the coast lands; and while the Delta, Cairo, and the Fayum each receive a scanty supply of water from the clouds. there is virtually no rainfall farther south. It is only in these northern districts that the sky is veiled with clouds; elsewhere, except in the season of the Khamsin, the whole land of Egypt, day after day, summer and winter, lies naked to the light and heat of the sun's rays.

In Egypt there is no high average elevation, as there is in South and Central Africa, to mitigate the heat due to its proximity to the equator. On the eastern border the foot-hills, broken by wadis, rise to the crest line of the Red Sea coastal range, but with this exception, isolated and insignificant hillocks alone raise the level of the limestone plain. On the other hand, the dryness of the air, here as in South Africa, renders a high thermometrical heat less enervating than it would be

if accompanied by a moist atmosphere.

One other influence moderates the power of the sun. As the air, warmed by the heated surfaces of the desert areas, rises on both sides of the Nile Valley, the vacuum thus created draws a current of cool air from the north through the funnel of the Delta, and up the valley. For ten months in the year these cool and refreshing

northern winds prevail; they blow with varying force, but general constancy, throughout the day, and then sink gradually with the sun to leave

a night of perfect calm.

In March and April, the two so-called 'spring' months, when the desert areas have chilled gradually during the winter season, the indraft from the north ceases, and the intermittent wind of the Fifty Days, the Khamsin, sets in from the south-west. These winds, coming from the desert, bring electric, hot, and sand-laden airs; they blow in angry gusts, and sucking up the particles of sand and rock spread a yellow veil between the earth and sky. When the Khamsin comes the throats of man and beast are parched, and their skins bruised, and every living thing is afflicted with an intolgrable lassitude.

Egypt, then, has not only a hot climate, but an exceedingly dry air; and, in general, a cloudless sky. It is an almost rainless and wind-swept plain, and even in the Nile Valley the prevalent and otherwise refreshing northerly winds are too often accompanied by clouds of unsavoury dust.

The fact that Egypt, with the slight exceptions above mentioned, receives no water from the sky, but man and beast, trees and crops, are alike dependent for this primary necessary of life upon the Nile, not only dominates the physical aspect of the country but is reflected in the character of its inhabitants. In England, and in a greater or less degree in all countries inhabited by Europeans, changing skies, with alternate clouds and sunshine, give variety to the face of nature. The transitions between the

austerity of winter and the leafy abundance of summer are long and full of surprises, and the seasons themselves and the needs of the soil and of the animals that are pastured upon the fields, vary from year to year. In such countries, therefore, the work of the cultivator, the flock-master,

or the husbandman is full of variety.

In Egypt, on the other hand, where there is neither spring nor autumn, and only the annual waxing or waning of the power of the sun separates the hot and cold seasons, the routine of tillage, irrigation, sowing, and reaping, is unbroken by any seasonal variation from year to year. Under a changeless sky, and surrounded by a changeless landscape, the cultivator of the Nile lands has pursued the same tasks day by day, and year by year, for thousands of years; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the Arab-Egyptian of to-day should be slow-thinking, unenterprising, and fatalistic, a person of simple animal needs and pleasures, and no spiritual aspirations. Moreover, to a relatively short average duration of life is added a comparatively low rate of reproduction, since only one-third of the children born of fellaheen parents reach the age of puberty.

The peasantry of the Delta and the Fayum, indeed, where the skies are clouded in winter and the earth is sometimes freshened with rain, are superior in physique and intelligence to those of the Nile Valley; nor must it be forgotten that the faculties of the fellaheen both in Upper and Lower Egypt are being stimulated by European supervision, and that the partial displacement of

cereals by crops such as sugar and cotton, which are not only more profitable but demand a higher degree of skill in cultivation, is exercising an educative influence. Nevertheless, in spite of the English irrigation inspectors, and the sugar factories, and cotton mills, the peasant-cultivator of Egypt remains essentially what he was more than a thousand years ago.

#### INHABITANTS

To-day, as in the past, Egypt is broadly distinguished as 'Upper' Egypt, which consists of the Nile Valley above Cairo and the Fayum, and 'Lower' Egypt, containing Cairo, the Delta, and Alexandria: and to this ancient division must be added the Peninsula of Sinai and the Isthmus of Suez, with the three towns of Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez, which virtually owe their existence to the Suez Canal. The country is subdivided for administrative purposes into fourteen provinces, of which eight are in Upper, and six in Lower Egypt; the five governorships of Cairo, Alexandria, Suez Canal (Port Said and Ismailia), Suez, and Damietta; the districts of Sinai and El-Arish (under the Egyptian War Office), and the new district of the Behera Province on the frontier of Tripoli.

The number of the population, according to the census of 1907, is 11,287,359. Of this total 10,269,445, or 91.8 per cent., are Mussulmans; 706,322, or 6.31 per cent., are Copts; 38,635, or 0.34 per cent., are Jews; and the balance is made

up of 97,381 Nomad Arabs, some 150,000 European residents, and the Christian Syrians, Armenians, and others.

The bulk of the native Egyptians are the fellaheen, and of these the majority own the lands which they cultivate. They are Mohammedans in religion, and in this and other respects have been so completely dominated and absorbed by their Arab conquerors, that they form to all intents and purposes an Arab population.

Next in importance are the 700,000 Copts. It is in this element of the inhabitants that we may expect to find, if anywhere, a survival of the ancient Egyptian stock. In spite of repeated and severe persecutions, the Copts have preserved the Christian faith adopted by their forefathers in the fourth century of our era. Their superiority to the rest of the Arab-Egyptian population is marked by their pursuits and comparative wealth. They supply the craftsmen of the towns: the stonemasons, carpenters, woodcarvers, and workers in glass and metals. a whole they are better educated than the Mohammedans, and they possess a natural aptitude for figures which makes them competent as clerks and traders. The number of wealthy men among them is comparatively large; and Coptic capitalists are able to subscribe funds for useful undertakings, such as agreulturial railways, calculated to promote the industrial development of the country.

Among the Mohammedan population, the Turco-Egyptians constitute what was, up to the date of the English occupation, the ruling class

of this province of the Turkish Empire. Their privileges, and their opportunities for enriching themselves by legal and illegal exactions, have been greatly curtailed by the administrative and legislative reforms carried out by the English advisers and officials, but they still remain the wealthiest and most influential section of the 'native' population of the country, and it is from this class in general that the Khedive's ministers of state, and such of the more responsible officials as are not European, are drawn.

In addition to the Copts. there is a small population of non-European Christians consisting of Syrians and Armenians. Of these, the former are chiefly engaged in trade, either as moneylenders and merchants, or as clerks and Government employees. The Armenians, although mainly small traders and shopkeepers, contribute to the ranks of the professions and to the Civil Service. Small as is the Armenian community in Egypt, it has furnished the Khedive's government for many years past with officials of ability and distinction, of whom Nubar Pasha, perhaps the most distinguished of the native Egyptian statesmen in recent years, was a conspicuous example.

The European inhabitants of Egypt are insignificant in point of numbers, but it need scarcely be added that the country owes its recently acquired prosperity mainly to their efforts. They are to be found for the most part in the half-dozen large towns; and in 1907 the respective numbers of the chief European communities were as follows:—Greek, 62,974;

Italian, 34,926; British, 20,653; French, 14,891; Austrian, 7705; Russian, 2410; and German, 1847. To the English residents, the Army of Occupation, some 6000 strong, must be added.

The French are engaged in the management of the Suez Canal, in directing other important industrial concerns, and in commerce: and a relatively large number of Frenchmen are still retained as officials in the Egyptian government. and in the international institutions. Greeks—the most numerous of the European communities-are chiefly occupied in trade, but they provide also a good many lawyers and other professional men. The majority of the Italians are artisans and skilled labourers, who are attracted to the country by the offer of high wages, and, being themselves accustomed to a warm climate, are better able to endure the great heat than the work-people of most other European nations. It is noticeable that during the decade 1897-1907 the highest rates of increase were shown by the Greeks (65 per cent.), the Germans (44 per cent.), and the Italians (43 per cent.); while those of the British and French communities were respectively 5 and 3 per cent.

Reverting to the population of the country as a whole, the net increase of the ten years 1879–1907 is returned, after making certain necessary adjustments, at 1,570,131, or 16 per cent.—a figure which shows an annual rate of increase of 1.5 per cent. The density per square mile is 939 as against 588.7 in Belgium, the most closely populated European country; and, says the Census Report, 'it seems probable that nowhere

outside of Bengal will an area of like size be found carrying so dense a population of a similar nonindustrial character.' The pertinence of this remark is enforced by the statement of the economic distribution of the people, from which it appears that, of the total population of Egypt over ten years of age. 62.65 per cent. are engaged

in agriculture.

Other items of significance are to be gleaned from this section of the Census returns. The proportion of the native Egyptians engaged in trade and industries is 16.27 per cent., as against 47.85 per cent. of the Europeans, Syrians, and Armenians. And of the 144,079 persons of both sexes who are returned as belonging to the 'Professional Classes' (other than the Civil Service) nearly one-half (48 per cent.) are 'foreigners.' The ecomonic distribution of the entire population is exhibited in the following table .\_\_

Occupation.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1. Agriculture	2,335,870	104,160	2,440,030
2. Industries	860,537	19,916	380,453
3. Trade and Trans-			
port	254,671	7,675	262,346
4. Public Service (in-			
cluding Army and			
Police)	105,561	361	105,922
5. Professional Classes	135,733	8,346	144,079
6. Miscellaneous (includ-			
ing persons with-			
out occupation) .	2,474,702	5,479,827	7,954,529
	F 000 00 A	F 000 00F	77 000 000
F.E.	0,007,074	5,120,285	11,287,359 B

#### THE LARGE TOWNS

It remains to add a few words on the halfdozen large towns in which, as already noticed, the European population is concentrated. Cairo, with 654,476 inhabitants, is the largest single aggregation of humanity in the continent of Africa. The Europeanised quarters are sharply separated from the Arab or Saracen town, which remains essentially mediæval and Asiatic. They have been built between the original Cairo and the Nile, on land which is actually below the level of the river in the season of flood. Owing to the difficulties created by this low elevation, a proper system of water-borne sewerage is only now being introduced; but when this is completed the new Cairo will be both healthy and convenient. It has broad, tree-lined streets, and squares, shops, theatres, and hotels, and is well supplied with electric tramways and other means of conveyance: and in the residential quarter of Kasr-en-Nil there are many charming private houses set in pleasant gardens. Quite recently, however, a new English quarter has grown up round the barracks at Abyssia, which is some three miles from Cairo, and has the advantage of a comparatively high elevation and pure desert air.

While Cairo, in spite of its European quarters, as a whole preserves the appearance of an Eastern town, Alexandria is frankly European. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population of this great commercial entrepôt between

the East and West had dwindled to some 4000. To-day it has 332,246 inhabitants, and a larger European population than Cairo. Apart from the Arab quarter, it is wholly modern, and a great part of the nineteenth-century Alexandria, owing to the town having been fired by the Egyptian soldiers and then pillaged by the mob at the time of the Arabi insurrection, has been rebuilt since 1882. It is the port of Egypt, the centre of the commercial interests of the country, and the seat of the Mixed or International Law Courts.

Port Said, at the Mediterranean entrance to the Suez Canal, is the largest of the three towns to which the Canal has given birth. Like Alexandria, it is commercial and cosmopolitan, and it has grown steadily in population and importance with the increasing traffic of the great waterway. In the last few years the accommodation and equipment of the port has been developed, and the town itself, which now has a population of 49.884, has been provided with a drainage system and otherwise improved.

Tanta is the largest town in the Delta apart from Alexandria, and its population, numbering 54,437, is almost exclusively native. Assiut (or Siut) and Medinet-el-Fayum, with respective populations of 39,442 and 37,320 inhabitants, are the two largest towns in Upper Egypt.

Luxor, near the site of Thebes, and Aswan (Syene) are well-known centres for the travellers who annually visit the valley of the Nile. Both are on the Eastern, or Arabian bank of the river, and their ample hotels hold a considerable floating

population of European visitors in the winter months. The former is in the heart of the temples and tombs of the capital of Imperial Egypt, and the latter, in addition to the monuments in its neighbourhood, is just below the First Cataract and the great Nile Dam which has contributed so greatly in recent years to the prosperity of the country.

#### THE CLAIMS OF EGYPT

We are now in a position to draw into focus the salient features of Modern Egypt, and formulate its claims upon the attention of Englishmen.

In the first place, then, the British Empire, as essentially a maritime power, and the United Kingdom, as the greatest owner and builder of ships and carrier of goods by sea, have a vital interest in the safety and efficient administration of the Suez Canal. Through it there passes a continuous stream of sea-borne traffic between England and India, the Far East, and Australia; and the injury which would be inflicted upon British interests by the destruction or interruption of this waterway is so great, that the whole military and naval strength of the Empire would be employed to prevent any action calculated to bring about so disastrous a result.

In the second place, Egypt is now a large producer of raw cotton. Of the £E.34,574,300 worth of produce exported in 1912, £E.27,529,277, or three-fourths, was the value of the cotton, cotton-seed, etc., sold chiefly to the United

Kingdom, but also to foreign countries. The efforts of the Egyptian Government to maintain and extend the existing cotton production of the Delta, and the endeavour of the Anglo-Egyptian Government of the Sudan to establish new cotton areas within its territory, are therefore matters of direct industrial concern to England, as the largest manufacturer of cotton goods in the world.

But great as is the strategic and industrial importance of Egypt to England, the appeal of the political and economic reforms which are being carried out by Englishmen is scarcely less insistent. Parents and authors, says Aristotle, love their own productions. Modern Egypt is pre-eminently the offspring of British skill and determination, and men of British race naturally find pleasure in watching the progress of a work which has produced such good results both to the

Egyptians and to themselves.

Moreover, the sacrifice demanded of an Imperial race is not confined to blood and treasure. Its members have also an intellectual responsibility—the duty of informing themselves upon the issues which, in the last instance, they are called upon to decide by their votes at the polls. The large degree in which the interests of the British Empire are concerned in the good government of Egypt, and in the development of its industrial resources, makes it imperative that the electors of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions should inform themselves upon the circumstances of the country and the conditions of its people. For in times of crisis the representatives of Great

Britain in Egypt look to their fellow-countrymen throughout the Empire to support them in carrying out this or that necessary measure; and the giving, or withholding, of this support at such times may help or hinder materially the work of reform.

Lastly, there is the appeal of Egypt to the traveller and the scholar. The artistic and historical treasures of this ancient seat of civilisation, and the charm of its winter climate, can be enjoyed to-day with such ease and completeness, that there is little need to enlarge upon this aspect of the life of Modern Egypt. The museums of Cairo and the newly-revealed monuments throughout the country exhibit the fullness of the harvest which the archæologists are reaping year by year. And to the Pyramids and Temples of the Pharaohs, and the Mosques and Tombs of the Saracens, the English occupation has added the mighty bar of masonry which pens the Nile at Aswan, and an irrigation system that has not merely replaced, but altogether transcended, the engineering achievements which once commanded the admiration of the old world.

## CHAPTER II

#### HOW BRITAIN CAME TO EGYPT

THE first link in the chain of events which led to the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain in 1882 is an episode in the Napoleonic Wars. In the eighteenth century, England, having emerged successfully from her earlier trading rivalry with the Dutch, was engaged in a contest with France for the mastery of the sea and the command of the sea-borne commerce of the European world. In the course of this conflict Canada and India were wrested from France, but the English colonies in America, now the United States, owing to the French fleet obtaining the command of the Atlantic at a critical moment, achieved their independence. The loss of the United States was followed by the French Revolution; and when, in the closing years of the century, the conflict was renewed, the resources of France were wielded with stupendous energy by the master-mind of Napoleon. The genius of Nelson, however, enabled England to regain and hold the mastery of the seas; and, in the end, France, deprived of her sea power, was crushed by the land power of the Allied States of Europe.

This last phase of the long struggle for maritime supremacy between France and England opened with the invasion of Syria and Egypt by Napoleon (1798–1801), his purpose being to use

these countries as a base of attack upon England in India and the English sea-borne trade in Eastern waters. The design was frustrated by the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile (1798), and the subsequent defeat by Abercrombie of the army which Napoleon had left in Egypt—events which compelled the French to evacuate the country in 1801. Two years later, a short-lived peace was concluded between the French and British governments, under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens (1803), and the British, having dislodged the French and re-established the authority of the Sultan, in turn retired from Egypt.

#### THE WORK OF MOHAMMED ALI

In these operations against the French, the British had been supported by Turkish troops, and in particular by a body of Albanian levies, in which Mohammed Ali served as second in command. The withdrawal of the British was followed by an attempt on the part of the Egyptian nationalists, headed by the Mamluks, 1

The Mamluks were originally captives purchased in the thirteenth century by the Sultan el-Saleh from the Tartar Genghis Khan, and organised into a force of light horse. The body of soldiery—half brigands, half slaves—thus created, was recruited from Georgian and Circassian youths kidnapped for the purpose, and was at first employed for the protection of the persons of the military sultans of Egypt. Subsequently, however, the Mamluks themselves usurped the supreme power, and formed a military caste which dominated Egypt for five centuries. The word 'Mamluk' means 'bought slave.'

to rid themselves of the sovereignty of the Sultan; and as the result of the insurrection Mohammed Ali, by means of his control of these Albanian troops, obtained command of Cairo, set aside the Turkish governor, and then compelled the Sultan to legalise his position by creating him Pasha of Egypt (1806).

His first achievement in this capacity was to defeat the ill-starred British expedition of 1807. On this occasion the force of 5000 men had been sent to Egypt not to support the authority of the Sultan, but to assist the Nationalists in throwing off the Turkish supremacy. The operations were mismanaged from the first, and after nine months of ignominious fighting the numerous British prisoners, taken by Mohammed Ali and held in Cairo, were ransomed, and they and the surviving troops in the field were re-embarked on the transports.

Mohammed Ali's next step was an act of savage vengeance which the political exigencies of his situation can explain, but not justify. The Mamluks were not only a powerful military caste but the natural leaders of the Nationalists. So long, therefore, as they remained in existence, Mohammed Ali was in perpetual danger of being deprived of his new dignity by a sudden uprising of the fanatical population of Lower Egypt. To remove this menace, 480 Mamluk Bevs1 were invited to the Citadel of Cairo and there treacherously shot down, while 5000 less important

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Bey' and 'Pasha' are military titles, indicating respectively the rank of 'Colonel' and General' in a European army.

members of the caste were exterminated in the provinces.

Having secured himself against sedition by this monstrous act, Mohammed Ali was at liberty to utilise the resources of the Pashalic for the attainment of his military and political ambitions. His personality being what it was-that of a mercenary soldier, sprung from one of the least civilised of European races, but endowed with a genius for command and a shrewd natural intelligence—it is not surprising that the methods which he employed for the development of Egypt were as crude as they were arbitrary, Since the land and sea forces, which were the immediate instruments of his aggrandisement. could not be created and maintained without an increasing population and revenue, he sought the assistance of European capital and skill for the improvement of the economic capacity of the soil and people. That the development should have been only partial, and its results marred by barbarous and uneconomic measures, was inevitable. None the less when, in 1849, Mohammed Ali died, Egypt had become a vastly more productive and important country than it was at the time of Napoleon's invasion.

In thus establishing himself, Mohammed Ali had done both good and evil. While his administration was disgraced by barbarous and destructive measures, it was signalised by the fact that, for the first time since the Mohammedan conquest, the country was once again thrown open to European influence and methods of industrial development. The Sudan suffered from the vices

of his rule without any compensating advantage. Its prosperity depended upon the possibility of conveying the produce of the more fertile provinces of the south and south-west, by the caravan routes which led across the desert, to Egypt and the Red Sea ports. Under Mohammed Ali not only was the Sudan drained of its adult males by a wasteful recruitment for the Egyptian army, but the caravan traffic was endangered and ultimately abolished by the raids of the slave-traders, whose nefarious operations he openly encouraged.

But in Egypt the effect of the excessive taxation, and of the tyrannous exaction of forced labour from the fellaheen, was mitigated by the benefit which accrued to the country as a whole from works of recognised utility. By the construction of the Mahmudia Canal, with its embanked roadways, in 1819, Alexandria regained communication by land and water with Cairo, and was enabled thereby to recover its former prosperity. The soil of the Delta was exhausted by uneconomic methods of cultivation. but an irrigation system was commenced, and cotton, now the one great industry of Modern Egypt, was sown for the first time. European capital was invited to assist in the development of the natural resources of the country. Schools with European teachers were established, and young Egyptians of promise were sent to Paris to be educated and trained for the public service.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF FRANCE

Although Mohammed Ali owed the retention of his Pashalic, and the establishment of his dynasty, to England, it was to France that he had turned for instruction in the arts of Western The army was reorganised by civilisation. Suliman Pasha, a French soldier; the canals and irrigation works were planned by French engineers, and the first European teachers and officials were of the same nationality. The leading part played by France in the early stages of the making of Modern Egypt is reflected in the institutions of the country. The official language of the Egyptian Government is French, and the civil and criminal law now administered by the Native and the Mixed Courts of Justice is based upon the Code Napoléon. The Suez Canal, the most important undertaking in Egypt from an international point of view, is administered by a French company. with French officials and employees; and the European officials in certain departments of the Government, notably the Department of Antiquities, remain almost exclusively Frenchmen.

Towards the close of his life, Mohammed Ali fell into dotage, and during this period first Ibrahim Pasha, and then (1848) Abbas, administered the country as regents. Upon his death in 1849, he was succeeded in the Pashalic by Abbas, the son of Tussun, his eldest son—apart from Ibrahim, his reputed natural son. Abbas I.,

who was hostile to Western influence, was assassinated in 1854, and was succeeded in turn by Mohammed Ali's third son, Said. The new Pasha of Egypt had been educated in France, and showed himself to be a prudent and enlightened ruler; but his reign was closed prematurely by death in 1863. The succession then passed under Turkish law to Ismail, the second son of Ibrahim.

A few years later a change of considerable importance was effected in the status of the hereditary rulers of Egypt. A Firman of May 27, 1866, substituted a descent from father to son in primo-geniture for the original descent to the eldest heir in Turkish law; and in the year following, by a second Firman, the Sultan conferred the title of Khedive, in Arabic Khidewi-Misr, or Vicerov of Egypt, upon Ismail and his descendants.

The reign of the Khedive Ismail, called by Lord Milner, 'a carnival of extravagance and oppression,' was signalised by the opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, and terminated by his deposition, at the hands of the Great Powers, on June 26, 1879. He was replaced by his eldest son Tewfik; and it was in the reign of this latter (1879 to 1892) that the English Occupation took place. Tewfik was succeeded upon his death on January 7, 1892, by his son Abbas Hilmi, or Abbas II., the present Khedive.

These names and dates will simplify the task of compressing into a few pages the events which bridge the interval between the Egypt of Mohammed Ali and the Egypt of the English Occupation.

The first half of the nineteenth century was marked by the expansion of British rule and British trade in India, and by the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand. These developments produced a large increase in the ocean traffic between England and the East; and the question of sailing direct to India by means of a waterway connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, as against the long sea voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, was considered as early as 1830, when, on behalf of the British Government, the actual course of the existing Suez Canal was surveyed by General Chesney. At that time, however, the construction of the canal seemed to involve so many material difficulties and political complications that the enterprise was abandoned.

None the less the need for a more direct communication between England and India was felt in an increasing degree; and by the indomitable energy of an Englishman, Thomas Waghorn, a land transport service between Alexandria and Suez was established, and the Indian traffic was diverted partially from the long sea route to this 'overland' route, as it was called. In the reign of Abbas (1849–54) the new route was improved by the construction of railways in Lower Egypt, and the rapid and convenient conveyance of the Indian passengers and mails from port to port was thus secured.

In the meantime the French engineers had realised that the piercing of the narrow isthmus, which alone held apart the waters of Europe and Asia, was the logical and inevitable sequel of the

establishment of the overland route. In 1840 Linant de Bellefonds revised the proposals which General Chesney had laid before the British Government, and in 1854 Ferdinand de Lesseps, having spent some years in maturing his plans upon the death of Abbas, obtained a concession from Said, authorising him to create the 'Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez,'

### THE SUEZ CANAL

The history of the Suez Canal affords a significant example of the manner in which the most careful forecasts may be falsified by events. Ferdinand de Lesseps based his belief in the financial success of the Canal upon erroneous data: but he nevertheless obtained the support of his fellow-countrymen, and was enabled by this French support to carry out his project. England. and England's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston, having more reliable information. refused to assist de Lesseps; and yet the use of the Canal by English ships first redeemed the undertaking from financial disaster, and then made it so necessary a waterway, that just as in the eighteenth century England had occupied the Cape—a Dutch colony—to secure the long sea route to India, so in the nineteenth she was compelled to occupy Egypt, lest the Canal should be injured or fall under the exclusive control of any other nation.

While England, however, gave no support to the construction of the Suez Canal, she had promoted the development of the overland route by the establishment of railway communication between Alexandria and Suez—a measure which France had opposed, as tending to render the Canal, the cherished ambition of the French

engineers, less necessary.

Nor is there any question as to the miscalculation of de Lesseps. He assumed that the costliness of the coal required for so long a voyage would prevent the employment of steam-driven ships for the Indian trade, and he relied upon the reduction of the distance, from 11,379 to 7528 miles, to divert the sailing ships from the Cape route. 'It is not your steamers that I am wooing,' he said, when he unsuccessfully solicited the support of English capitalists, 'but your fleet of sailing ships now going round the Cape.' In point of fact, so little use was made of the Canal by these sailing ships, that two years after it was opened (1869) the market value of the Company's shares fell from £20 to £7, and no dividend was paid until the Powers agreed, on the proposal of England, at the Constantinople Conference, that the original charges should be raised by 40 per cent.

What rescued the undertaking from failure was an improvement in maritime engineering which was effected only a few years before the Canal was completed, and was therefore entirely outside the calculations of both de Lesseps and the English shipowners. This improvement was the application of the compound engine to steamships, and as the result of the saving in coal consumption—estimated to be one-half—which

it secured, the mercantile marine of England was rapidly changed from sailing to steam-driven ships. And for such ships the lessening of the distance between England and India brought about by the Suez Canal route was an unmixed

gain.

The general adoption of steam power for merchant ships by England, and subsequently and to a lesser degree by other maritime nations, was accompanied by other movements which were favourable to the Canal. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century the Eastward commerce of England, the power which owned two-thirds of the shipping served by the Canal, was expanded by the rapid development of Australia and New Zealand under the stimulus of gold discovery (1850–70), and the growth of the Indian Empire, after the suppression of the Mutiny (1857), under the direct administration of the Crown.

When an International Commission of experts had decided in favour of the proposal of the French engineers, namely, that the waterway should be formed by excavation, and not by embankment as recommended by the English engineers, de Lesseps obtained a second and more ample concession from Said in 1856, and three years later the construction of the Canal was actually begun. Of the necessary capital, half had been provided by Said, and half contributed by French and other Continental investors; and the Egyptian Government was bound under the terms of the concession to grant certain areas of land, and supply forced labour, to the Company.

Ismail, however, upon his accession in 1863, refused to carry out these undertakings, and the matter was referred for arbitration to Napoleon III. Under this award the Egyptian Government was ordered to pay £3,800,000 to the Company, as compensation for its failure to carry out its undertakings; and in 1866 a convention1 was executed between the Khedive and the Company, and duly ratified by the Sultan, in which the rights of the Company and its relationship to the Egyptian Government were specifically determined. In 1869, ten years after the work of excavation had begun, the Canal was declared open for traffic by the Empress Eugénie, the central figure in a company of distinguished Europeans, whom Ismail's invitation had brought to Egypt to take part in the ceremony.

England, therefore, had no part in the actual making of the Suez Canal. The merit of the work as an engineering achievement, belongs solely to Ferdinand de Lesseps; and the French nation by its faith in him has carned the credit of uniting the waters of Europe and Asia. But the Canal, once made, found in England a fostermother at once more powerful and more solicitous than its parent, France. In 1875, by an act of rare sagacity on the part of Lord Beaconsfield, England for the first time acquired a financial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The final concession was for ninety-nine years after the opening of the Canal. Upon the expiry of this term (in 1968) the Canal, subject to the Company being indemnified for fixtures, matériel, etc., becomes the property of the Egyptian Government.

interest in the Suez Canal Company, and a voice in the administration of the Canal. The 176,602 shares, which the extravagance of Ismail then compelled him to sell, were purchased by the British Government for the sum of £4,076,622. According to Mr Cave's Report (1876) they represented an expenditure on the part of the Egyptian Government (including the payment of the award of Napoleon III.) of £16,075,000. Their present market value is approximately £33,000,000. It was the growing appreciation of the commercial utility and strategic importance of the new waterway, of which Lord Beaconsfield's act was the first sign, that led England, when France drew back, to undertake single-handed the difficult and invidious task of establishing order and prosperity in Egypt.

### EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

With the sale of her portion in the Suez Canal, it became obvious that Egypt under Ismail's rule was heading straight for bankruptcy. In the same year, therefore, the Great Powers, alarmed for the safety of the millions borrowed by the Egyptian Government from European investors, began to take measures to avert the threatened catastrophe. The broad results of Ismail's misgovernment and the circumstances in which the intervention of Europe was effected demand careful attention; since they constitute together the source of the international fetters which have gravely impeded the work of the

English Advisers during the last thirty years, and from which even to-day the Khedive's govern-

ment has not been wholly freed.

While, then, in 1863, the date of Ismail's accession, the public debt of Egypt amounted in round numbers to £3,000,000, in 1876 it had swollen to £89,000,000, an altogether extravagant sum for a country with a population of 6,000,000, and an area of only 5,000,000 acres under cultivation. In the same thirteen years, an everincreasing burden of taxation, amounting in the end to an addition of 50 per cent., had been placed by Ismail upon the indigenous population of the country, that is to say, upon the cultivators of the soil and the real producers of the wealth of Egypt, as distinct from the mainly foreign commercial classes. Nor was this all.

Such was the incapacity of Ismail, so corrupt and incompetent were the agents whom he employed, and so rapidly did the credit of Egypt fall, that a large proportion of the sums nominally raised by loan never reached the Egyptian Treasury at all; while of the moneys actually encashed by the Government, a still larger proportion was misappropriated, or merely wasted, by the officials. In short, if we except the construction of the Suez Canal, only 10 per cent. of the £85,000,000 borrowed by Ismail for the development of the country was actually expended upon works of public utility.

As, therefore, so little of this enormous capital expenditure was directly, or indirectly, productive, the Government had been driven to resort to an increase of taxation to provide for the annual

charges on the Debt. And now, although the country had been taxed to the limit of its capacity, its revenue was notoriously insufficient to meet the ordinary costs of administration and at the same time to pay the interest on the unproductive millions which Ismail had borrowed from

Europe.

In these circumstances, had Egypt been an independent Power, or Ismail's borrowings been less considerable and less widely distributed, the Khedive's government would probably have taken the short cut of repudiation; openly proclaiming its inability to meet its obligations, and leaving its European creditors to accept whatever terms it chose to offer them. But, happily, Egypt was not in a position to take this course.

It was, first, subject to the sovereignty of Turkey, and second, as a member of the Turkish Empire, bound by the special treaties, termed the Capitulations, under which the Porte had granted important rights and privileges to the subjects of the various European Powers, when resident within its territories. The direct interference of the sovereign Power, in view of the tortuous and dilatory methods then characteristic of Turkish diplomacy, could scarcely have been expected to produce results satisfactory either to the European investors, or the oppressed fellaheen; but in the Capitulations the Great Powers possessed a locus standi which enabled them without any breach of international law to compel the Khedive's government to meet its obligations to the fullest extent that the existing resources of the country permitted.

#### THE CAPITULATIONS

The Capitulations, which play so important a part in the intervention of Europe and in the subsequent administration of Egypt under British advice, were treaty concessions obtained from the Porte by individual Christian Powers, from the fifteenth century onwards, for the purpose of protecting their respective subjects, when resident within the Turkish Empire, from violence and injustice at the hands of fanatical Moslem populations. As the result of this action, the subjects of fourteen European Powers and of the United States and Brazil to-day possess in Egypt, and elsewhere within the limits of the Turkish Empire. a group of treaty rights which collectively confer upon them immunity from taxation, inviolability of domicile, and freedom from the jurisdiction of the local courts.

Thus in Egypt, by virtue of the Capitulations, both civil and criminal proceedings to which Europeans were parties, were taken not to the Egyptian Courts but to one or other of the Consular Courts of the various European Powers. And at the time in question protracted negotiations between the sixteen Powers concerned had ended in an agreement with the Egyptian Government under which the civil jurisdiction of the respective Consular Courts was vested in a single judicial authority styled the *Tribunaux Mixtes*, or Mixed Law Courts. These courts were constituted by Khedivial decree of January 1, 1876, and given

jurisdiction in civil cases between foreigners and between foreigners and native Egyptians. From this date, therefore, the Consular Courts have exercised jurisdiction over their respective

nationals only in criminal matters.

The constitution of the Mixed Courts was followed, or rather accompanied, by an endeavour on the part of the Great Powers to ascertain the actual financial position of the Egyptian Government. Mr Cave's Report, which was presented in March, was incomplete; but the situation which it disclosed was so unsatisfactory that the Powers insisted upon the establishment of an International Board to receive on behalf of the foreign creditors, as a whole, the revenues assigned by the Khedive for the service of the Debt. This authority. styled the Caisse de la Dette, was constituted by Khedivial decree of May 2, and consisted originally of three officials representing respectively France, Austria, and Italy, the three Powers whose subjects had invested most extensively in Egyptian securities.

The creation of these two International authorities, accomplished by the concerted action of the Powers, materially improved the position of the European creditor, since any complaint that he might have to make in respect of the failure of the Egyptian Government to fulfil its financial obligations, would be brought by a recognised authority before a Court which derived its jurisdiction not from the Egyptian Government itself, but from the Great Powers. The fear of repudiation was therefore removed.

#### THE DUAL CONTROL

In the meantime, the incompetency and bad faith of Ismail had become more and more apparent; and France and England, the two Powers most directly interested in the safety of the Suez Canal and the industrial development of Egypt, determined to intervene jointly in the administration of the country. Mr (afterwards Lord) Goschen and M. Joubert were appointed accordingly on behalf of their respective governments to examine the financial position and formulate a proposal for the payment of the Debt. The information, however, which the Khedive's officials supplied to the Commissioners was false: and the financial settlement thus made in November of the same year naturally proved ineffective.

As the result of this experience, it was realised that, in order to obtain a reliable knowledge of the financial position, not merely the revenue returns, but the actual sources of revenue, and the methods by which the country was administered, must be ascertained and examined. This full inquiry was obstinately resisted by Ismail; and it was not until April, 1878, that a Commission armed with powers sufficient for the purpose was at length constituted. The information which this Commission obtained showed conclusively that Egypt as then administered was incapable of meeting its obligations; and, as Ismail refused to assent to any proposal for the reduction of the

annual interest on the Debt, he was deposed by the Concert of Europe on June 26, 1879, and replaced by his eldest son, Tewfik.

The deposition of Ismail was followed by the joint assumption on the part of England and France of the duty of controlling the Government of Egypt. For this purpose Major Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) and M. de Blignières were appointed by their respective governments to be Controllers-General: and the new Khedive was notified that no political interference in the affairs of Egypt other than that exercised by these representatives of the two controlling

Powers would be permitted.

The Dual Control, thus constituted, lasted until the English Occupation in 1882. The recommendations of the last Financial Commission were put into effect, and the terms upon which Egypt was to compound with her European creditors were settled, and embodied in the Law of Liquidation. Although the amount of interest then assigned was found subsequently to be excessive, and the settlement was modified in 1885 in this and other respects by the Great Powers upon the representation of England, the essential features of this measure were maintained up to the time of the Anglo-French Agreement of April 8, 1904, when, for the first time since 1875, the Egyptian Government was able to utilise its revenue in accordance with the actual requirements of the country. The measure is therefore one of primary importance, since it constitutes the basis of the remarkable financial system under which Egypt was administered by the English Advisers during the critical period 1882-1905.

## THE LAW OF LIQUIDATION

The Law of Liquidation, then, was approved directly by the governments of England, France, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Russia—a collective sanction which secured its acceptance by the world at large—and promulgated by Khedivial decree in July, 1880. The total indebtedness of the Egyptian Government was found to have increased by no less than ten millions since 1876, the date of the abortive Goschen-Joubert settlement, and to amount to £98,685,930. various items of which this total was composed were consolidated into four debts, which, with

the rates of intere	est respecti	vely assigned to	
them, in 1381 stood as under:—			
	Capital	Rate of	
		Interest. Amount.	
The Privileged Debt .	£22,587,800	5°/, 1£E.1,157,024	
The Unified Debt .	57,776,340	4°/。 2,253,265	
The Domains Loan .	8,499,620	5°/。 455,310	
		(including	
		sinking fund)	
The Daira Debt .	9,512,900	4% 370,322	
Total	£98,376,6	60 £4,235,921	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Consolidated Debt is expressed officially as to capital in pounds sterling, but as to interest in pounds Egyptian (£E. =£1 0s. 6d.). The figures are taken from the Tableaux Statistiques, 1881-1897, issued by Sir Elwin Palmer in 1898.

In addition to these charges, the Egyptian Government was liable for a further annual sum of over £1,000,000, which was made up of (1) the tribute to Turkey fixed under the Firman of June 8, 1873, at 150,000 purses; (2) the interest due to England on the Suez Canal shares purchased in 1875; and (3) lesser obligations not included in the Consolidated Debt.

The interest thus assigned to the Consolidated Debt, amounting in 1881 to a total of £4,235,921, was proportionately one-third less than that assigned under the Gosehen-Joubert settlement. In spite of this reduction in the rate of interest payable on the Debt, however, as the annual revenue was approximately £9,000,000, the Egyptian Government was left with a balance of less than £4,000,000 with which to make provision for the ordinary expenses of administration. The figures for 1881 were as under:—

Total receipts from all sources .	£9,229,965		
Charges for the Consolidated Debt,			
Tribute, etc	5,345,341		
Balance available for ordinary ex-			
penses of administration .	£3,884,624		

But it was the provision made by Europe for securing the payment of the interest on the Debt, rather than the actual apportionment of the revenue as between the European creditors and the needs of Egypt, that gave the Law of Liquidation its sinister importance as a factor in the subsequent administration of the country

under Great Britain. The Daira and Domains Loans were secured upon the estates so named (being the Crown lands of Egypt). The produce of these estates did not suffice, however, at first to meet the payment in respect of interest and sinking fund with which they were charged, and for many years the deficiency had to be made up from other funds.

In addition to these estates, the sources of revenue appropriated to the service of the Debt were (1) the four provinces of Ghabia, Menufia, Behera, and Siut; and (2) the Railways, Telegraphs, and Port of Alexandria. These sources of revenue were not merely appropriated to the Debt, but were placed under the management of international authorities which were wholly independent of the Egyptian Government; the Railways, Telegraphs, and Port of Alexandria Board (constituted in 1876), and the Daira Sania and Domains Commissions (constituted respectively in 1877 and 1878).

This arrangement, justifiable as it was in the circumstances of the Dual Control, placed the Egyptian Government in an intolerable position during the first twenty years of the British Occupation. For the broad result of the establishment of these Mixed Administrations (as they were styled collectively), in conjunction with the increased power of the Caisse de la Dette. 1

<sup>1</sup> As originally constituted the Caisse de la Dette was merely a committee of Bondholders appointed to receive certain revenues assigned by Ismail, under diplomatic pressure, for the payment of the interest on the Debt. At this date (1876) its scope was so limited that the British

was to deprive the Egyptian Government of the control of more than half its revenue; and in particular to prevent it, when financial stability had been regained under the British Advisers, from applying its actual realised surplus to the relief of the taxpayers or the development of the industrial resources of the country.

#### THE ARABI REVOLT

To return to the Dual Control. In 1880 Lord Cromer (then Sir Evelyn Baring) was appointed to serve on the India Council, and his place, as British Controller-General, was taken by Sir Auckland Colvin. Under the joint control of Sir A. Colvin and M. de Blignières, the expenditure of the Egyptian Government was greatly reduced, the terms of the Law of Liquidation were strictly enforced, and £1,000,000 was paid off the Debt. The drastic entrenchments and economies by which this last result was obtained helped to identify the régime of the Dual Control in the minds of the people with the oppression and misgovernment of Ismail; and what was in its origin 'an Egyptian movement against Turkish arbitrary rule 'assumed an anti-European character, and culminated in the military revolt

Government neglected to propose a Commissioner, and it was composed of the representatives of France, Austria, and Italy. In 1877, however, a British Commissioner was appointed, and in 1885 Germany and Russia were similarly represented. In the meantime the functions of the Caisse had been considerably expanded.

against the Khedive's government, headed by Arabi Pasha. The rebellion in Egypt, however, derived popular support from the same wave of Mohammedan fanaticism which a year later brought the Sudan under the heel of the Mahdi.

It was this aspect of the situation—the fact that the Coptic and other Christians, the lives and property of the European community, the great international undertaking of the Suez Canal, and, in a word, all that made for civilisation and progress, were menaced by the uncontrolled violence of the Moslem populace—that compelled England to occupy Egypt. The step was taken with the utmost reluctance. The assumption of a new Imperial responsibility was entirely contrary to the avowed policy of the Liberal Government then in office: and every effort was made to secure the maintenance of order, first by the concert of Europe and then by the cooperation of France and Italy. When all such endeavours had failed, when the massacre of the Christians had begun, when the appearance of a European in the streets of Alexandria was met by the cry, 'O, Moslems, kill him! Kill the Christian!' when the British Consul and other Europeans had barely escaped with their lives, and many less fortunate had been brutally murdered-then, and not till then, was the work of rescuing Egypt from anarchy undertaken, in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'by the single power of England.'

The short campaign, which placed Egypt under the tutelage of Great Britain, began with the destruction of the rebel forts at Alexandria by the British fleet on July 11, 1882. On the 22nd the Khedive dismissed Arabi from his office as Minister of War, and two days later Arabi retaliated by proclaiming the Jehad, or Holy War. On August 3, a force of British marines occupied Suez, and and by the 26th the Canal was in the custody of the British fleet. At the same time troops were being moved up from Malta, Cyprus, and India, and despatched from England. On August 13, Lord Wolseley, who had been appointed to command the expedition, landed at Alexandria, and on the 19th he declared by proclamation that the 31,468 British troops of all ranks then in Egypt were there 'with the sole object of re-establishing the authority of the Khedive.'

On September 13, the Egyptian army, under Arabi, was broken at Tel-el-Kebir, and on the following day two squadrons of the Dragoon Guards, with a detachment of mounted infantry, rode across the thirty miles of intervening desert to the foot of the citadel of Saladin. That same night Arabi and 10,000 fellaheen troops surrendered to this meagre and travel-spent company of Englishmen; and on the 14th, with the arrival of Lord Wolseley and the British army at Cairo, the occupation of Egypt became an accomplished

fact,

# CHAPTER III

#### THE BRITISH CONTROL

THE story of the regeneration of Egypt, as so far accomplished, is written at length in a whole library of Blue books and other official publications. It has been told in narrative form by Lord Milner in England in Egypt, by Sir Auckland Colvin in The Making of Modern Egypt, by Lord Cromer himself in the two volumes of his Modern Egypt, and by many other less authoritative pens. To repeat this story would be as impossible as it is unnecessary. Nevertheless, the methods pursued, and the results achieved by the Egyptian Government under British control, must be recalled in outline, since without this background of past achievement it is difficult to measure either the value or the direction of the forces which are in operation to-day.

The object of the occupation was to 'restore the authority of the Khedive'; but since the Dual Control, under which this authority was exercised, was terminated by the Occupation, to 'restore the authority of the Khedive' was tantamount to the establishment of a system of British Control in the place of the now defunct Dual Control of England and France. The British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It was formally terminated by Khedivial decree of January 18, 1883.

Controller-General, Sir Auckland Colvin, was entrusted accordingly with the duties formerly performed by the joint Controllers-General, and for this purpose was attached to the Ministry of Finance, with the title of Financial Adviser.

Lord Dufferin was despatched to Cairo on a special mission (November, 1882—May, 1883) to report on the condition of the country, and lay down the broad lines of a constitution compatible with the maintenance of the British Control; and the position of the British Government was defined by a communication addressed on January 3, 1883, to the Powers directly concerned in the administration of Egypt. The words of Lord Granville, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, were:—

'Although, for the present, a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquillity, Her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organisation of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will permit of it. In the meantime, the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress.' 1

And just a year later, warned by the destruction of General Hicks's army by the Mahdi, Lord Granville supplemented this statement by the declaration that the 'advice' of the British

Government must be followed.

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 3462.

'I hardly need point out,' he wrote to Lord Cromer, 1 on January 4, 1884, 'that in important questions, where the administration and safety of Egypt are at stake, it is indispensable that Her Majesty's Government should, so long as the provisional occupation of the country by English troops continues, be assured that the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England, obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those ministers and governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices.'2

## THE DUFFERIN CONSTITUTION

Lord Dufferin's constitutional proposals were embodied in the Organic Law, promulgated by Khedivial decree on May 1, 1883. The legislative and administrative authority remained vested in the Khedive and the ministers responsible for the departments of the Interior, Finance, Justice, Public Works, Education, War, and Foreign

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lord Cromer (then Sir Evelyn Baring) succeeded Sir Edward Malet as British Agent and Consul-General on September 11, 1883. He was succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst on May 6, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Cd. 3844.

Affairs. But the exercise of this authority was limited by the rights of Turkey, the Suzerain (or sovereign) power; by the financial obligations of the Law of Liquidation, and the judicial and administrative powers of the International Courts and Administrations; and lastly, by the necessity of following the advice tendered by Great Britain as the power in military occupation of the country.

The representative institutions established in accordance with Lord Dufferin's recommendations by the Organic Law, consisted of a General Assembly, a Legislative Council, and a Provincial Council in each of the fourteen provinces (or Mudirias). These institutions were frankly educative. The only real power exercised by any of them was the right to veto new taxation, conferred upon the General Assembly by Article 1 of Section VI. of the Organic Law, which declared that 'no new direct tax, predial or personal, [could] be imposed in Egypt unless it [had] been discussed and approved by this body.'

As, however, it has been the settled policy of the Egyptian Government, under British advice, to reduce taxation, only one opportunity has ever occurred for putting this provision into effect. It arose out of a proposal to raise £E.150,000 of additional revenue by a special tax on land, in order that the corvée might be (practically) abolished; <sup>1</sup> and the proposal in question

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A system of compulsory service for the protection of the Nile banks in the season of flood is still in force; but with this slight and necessary exception the corvée was totally abolished by 1892.

was unanimously approved by the Assembly on December 17, 1889. The General Assembly was abolished, or rather amalgamated with the

Legislative Council, in 1913.

The Legislative Council, which was a partly nominated and partly elective body, possessed advisory and consultative powers. It consisted of thirty members, of whom fourteen, including the president and one of the vice-presidents, were to be nominated by Khedivial decree, and sixteen were to be elected under the provisions of the Electoral Law, promulgated simultaneously with the Organic Law.

The method of election is thus described by Lord Cromer, in his Annual Report for 1906. 'Every village elects a Delegate ("Electeur-Délégué"). At the election of these Delegates practically every adult male Egyptian has a right to vote. The Delegates then meet together and elect the members to form a Provincial Council... The elected members of the Legislative Council are chosen by the Provincial Councils.'

The Legislative Council met originally six times a year. Its successor, the 'Legislative Assembly' of to-day, meets on November 1, in each year, and remains in session until the end of the following May. In respect of the functions of the Council (as originally constituted), Lord Cromer wrote in the same Report, 'No Law or Decree of an important administrative character ("portant règlement d'administration publique") can be promulgated without having been previously submitted to the Council. Should the Government reject any amendments proposed

by the Council, the reasons for their rejection must be stated. The Council may invite the Government to undertake legislative measures. The Budget of the forthcoming year, as also the final accounts of the past year, are submitted to the Council, who may "tmettre des avis et des væux." Should the Government not entertain any proposals made by the Council, the reasons for the adoption of this course must be stated.'

The General Assembly, which was to meet at least once in two years, was composed of the members of the Legislative Council, with the addition of the six Ministers and forty-six Notables. These latter were elected in the same manner as the members of the Provincial Councils. Apart from its right to veto new taxation, the Assembly was entitled to be consulted upon (1) all public loans; (2) the construction of any canal or railway passing through several provinces; and (3) the classification of lands for assessment to the land tax.

Under the Organic Law, the elected members of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly were required to satisfy an educational test, and to possess certain property and residential qualifications; and provision was made for defraying the expenses incurred by members in attending the meetings of either of the two chambers. The subsequent amalgamation of those two chambers will be described in the sequel.

The Provincial Councils, as originally constituted, consisted of the Mudirs <sup>1</sup> (or governors)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Mudir is, literally, 'the man who turns everything round.'

and other officials of the respective provinces, together with a varying number of members elected, as described above, by the village cleetors - delegate. They were small bodies, the number of elected members ranging from three in the Fayum to eight in Gharbia; and, while they were intended to act as Advisory Councils to the Mudirs, practically the only function of importance which they performed up to the time of their reconstruction in 1910 was the election from among their own members of fourteen out of the sixteen elective members of the Legislative Council. The enlargement of these Councils, and the extension of their powers. effected by the legislation of 1909, will be subsequently discussed.

For the moment, it is sufficient to observe that they were consulted from time to time with reference to the annual programme of irrigation works, the construction of agricultural roads, and other similar local matters, in their respective provinces. But the fact that, under the Organic Law, they were to meet only when summoned by Khedivial decree, in Sir Eldon Gorst's words, 'put an end to all possibility of their exercising any continuous influence over the affairs of the province'; even assuming (which he doubted) that 'under the conditions existing during the early years of the Occupation, such bodies could, in any case, have been of any real service in administration.' <sup>1</sup>

Lord Dufferin expressly stated that these institutions were wholly tentative. The system

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Annual Report for 1909. Cd. 5121.

of representation established by the Organic Law, rudimentary as it was, constituted indeed, in the words of his Report, 'a far more bold and generous move in the direction of selfgovernment than anything the most revolutionary Indian statesman had hitherto dared to suggest for India.' But all that he desired to accomplish by it was 'to erect some sort of barrier, however feeble, against the intolerable tyranny' of the Turks, in the then probable event of their being . reinvested with their ancient supremacy; while, at the same time, he believed that, 'if English superintendence were to endure,' the partially representative bodies thus created 'might be fostered and educated into fairly useful institutions, proving a convenient channel through which the European element in the Government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and the less obvious wants of the native population,' 1

#### THE REFORMS

In addition to providing a constitution, Lord Dufferin's Report indicated the administrative reforms which were most immediately necessary, and the methods by which they might be carried out. For these purposes a material increase in the number of English officials was made. Under the Dual Control, apart from the British Agent, the British Controller-General, and the British representatives on the Caisse de la Dette and other

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Dufferin to Lord Cromer, quoted by the latter in Cd. 2817.

international administrations, important positions in the Egyptian Civil Service had been filled by Englishmen. But now, in accordance with Lord Dufferin's recommendations, Anglo-Egyptian officials were attached to each of the Ministries, and Englishmen, possessing in each case the special qualifications for success, were entrusted directly with departments of the administration in which reform and reconstruction were most urgently needed.

The irrigation system, upon which the material prosperity of the country depended, had fallen into grave disorder. The task of restoring it to efficiency was entrusted to Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, who was appointed first Inspector-General of Irrigation and subsequently Under-Sceretary to the Department of Public Works; and the services of a number of Anglo-Indian engineers, conversant with the methods of irrigation employed in India, were at the same time secured.

The reorganisation of the Army (disbanded after the Arabi insurrection) and the Police was placed in the hands of British officers, commanded respectively by Sir Evelyn Wood, as Sirdar, or Commander-in-Chief, of the Egyptian Army, and General Baker, as Inspector-General of Police.

The establishment of an impartial and efficient administration of justice was a work of especial difficulty. National Courts, styled the Native Tribunals, were created by Khedivial decree of June 14, 1883; but the English officials appointed to direct the working of these new institutions

were unable at first to carry through a reform of so fundamental a character.

Ultimately Sir John (then Mr) Scott, a judge of the High Court of Bombay, was appointed to report upon the system of jurisprudence and the procedure of the Native Courts. As the result of the recommendations contained in this Report, which was completed by the end of 1890, the Native Tribunals were reorganised, the personnel of the Bench was improved, and useful amendments were introduced in the Civil and Criminal Codes of Law which these courts administered.

Sir John Scott assumed the duties of Judicial Adviser in 1890, and during the eight years that he held this post (1890 to 1898) such substantial progress was made that the ultimate provision of an even-handed justice for the down-trodden Egyptian fellaheen was well within sight. The use of the courbash was at once declared illegal by a circular issued from the Ministry of the Interior on Lord Dufferin's instructions; and the corvée, or requisitioning of men by the State for unpaid labour, was restricted, gradually and increasingly, until its (practical) abolition became possible.

## THE BRITISH OFFICIALS

Thus, upon the termination of the Dual Control, English Advisers were appointed to the Ministries of Finance and Public Works, an English Sirdar was placed at the head of the Army, and an English Inspector-General at the head of the Police, and subsequently an English Adviser was appointed to the department of Justice. In 1904, the office of Inspector-General of Police having been abolished, an English Adviser was attached to the Ministry of the Interior; and finally, in 1906, the system of British Control was completed by the appointment of an English

Adviser to the Department of Education.

Among these officials the Financial Adviser is the most important, and his responsibilities are second only to those of the British Agent. The Under-Secretary for Finance—a position which was held by Lord Milner from 1889 to 1902—is his immediate subordinate, and he exercised originally the powers possessed under the Dual Control by the two Controllers-General. Although he is not a Minister, he attends the meetings of the Khedive's Ministers, and apart from the fact that no financial decision of any moment can be taken without his consent, his presence at these Councils enables him to offer advice upon administrative questions in general.

The first Financial Adviser (Sir Auckland Colvin) was succeeded in the autumn of 1883 by Sir Edgar Vincent, who, with singular ability, nursed the finances of the Egyptian Government through the most critical years of the Occupation

(1883-1899).

The British Agent, of whom so far nothing has been written, is the direct representative of Great Britain, and, as such, the person immediately responsible to the British Government for the peace and administrative progress of the

country. So long as the Occupation continues, he is, in fact, though not in name, the ultimate executive authority in Egypt. Sir Edward Malet, who held this office at the time of the Occupation, left Egypt in the following year, upon his appointment as British Minister at Brussels; and he was succeeded on September 11, 1883, by Lord Cromer. The value of the services rendered by Lord Cromer, alike to Egypt and the British Empire, during his long tenure of this office (September, 1883 to May 6, 1907), is recognised universally. Nothing need be said, therefore, on this head; but his account of the relations obtaining between himself and the British Government may be quoted, both for its intrinsic interest, and because it illustrates the nature of the responsibilities which fall upon the British Agent in Egypt.

'I never received any general instructions for my guidance during the time I held the post of British [Agent] in Egypt, and I never asked for any such instructions, for I knew it was useless for me to do so. My course of action was decided according to the merits of each case with which I had to deal. Sometimes I spurred the unwilling Egyptian along the path of reform. At other times, I curbed the impatience of the British reformer. Sometimes I had to explain to the old-world Mohammedan, the Mohammedan of the Sheriat, the elementary differences between the principles of government in vogue in the seventh and the nineteenth centuries. At other times, I had to explain to the young Gallicised Egyptian that the principles of an ultra-Republican Government were not applicable in their entirety to the existing phase of Egyptian society, and that, when we speak of the rights of man, some distinction has necessarily to be made in practice between a European spouting nonsense through the medium of a fifth-rate newspaper in his own country, and man in the person of a ragged Egyptian fellah, possessed of a sole garment, and who is unable to read a newspaper in any language whatsoever. . . . I had to support the supremacy of the Sultan and, at the same time, to oppose any practical Turkish interference in the administration, which necessarily connoted a relapse into barbarism. . . . 1 had at times to retire into my diplomatic shell, and to pose as one amongst many representatives of foreign Powers. At other times, I had to step forward as the representative of the Sovereign whose soldiers held Egypt in their grip. . . . To sum up the situation in a few words, I had not, indeed, to govern Egypt, but to assist in the government of the country without the appearance of doing so, and without any legitimate authority over the agents with whom I had to deal.'1

In addition to the British Agent and the English Advisers, the machinery of the British Control included the representatives of Great Britain on the International Administrations, the British heads of sub-departments, and the rank and file of British officials in the Egyptian Civil

Service.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Modern Egypt (1911 ed.), p. 712. The entire passage is most instructive, and tinged with a grim humour which makes it most interesting reading.

The origin of the International Administrations has been described in the preceding chapter. It will suffice, therefore, to note here that of the six Commissioners of the Caisse de la Dette, one only was English; of the three members of the Railway Board (which also administered the Telegraphs and the Port of Alexandria), one was English, one French, and one Egyptian; of the Board administering the Daira Sania properties, the Director-General was Egyptian, and of the two Controllers, one was English and one French; and of the three Commissioners administering the Domains estates, one was Egyptian, one French, and one English. The two latter administrations worked smoothly; but the international control of the Caisse de la Dette, and, in a lesser degree, that of the Railway Board, proved to be a most serious hindrance to the progress of administrative reform up to the date of Anglo-French Declaration (1904).

At the time of the Occupation, the three sub-departments of the Finance Ministry, administering the Customs, Lighthouses, and Post Office, were under British officials. Mr Caillard, the Director-General of Customs, continued to hold this office until his death in 1900; but the Post Office, after being reorganised by an English Director-General, was subsequently entrusted to 'an extremely competent Syrian, Saba Pasha,' by whom, says Lord Cromer, 'various postal reforms of great importance and utility were

introduced,' 1

<sup>1</sup> Modern Egypt, p. 687.

GROWTH OF THE BRITISH ELEMENT IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

To realise, however, the extent to which Egypt owes her present prosperity to English brains, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the number of the Anglo-Egyptian officials, as a whole. At the beginning of the Occupation there were more Frenchmen than Englishmen employed in the public services, including the International Administrations, and the Englishmen constituted a small minority of the total number of Europeans thus employed. From this time onwards, however, the proportion of the English officials in the services administered by the Egyptian Government was gradually raised, and the relative position attained by the British element in the Egyptian Civil Service and the International Administrations in 1898, is shown by some returns published in Lord Cromer's Annual Report for that year.

At this date, then, 11,870 officials of various grades were employed in the services controlled by the Egyptian Government, exclusive of the War Office and the rank and file of the Police. The great majority of these were, of course, Egyptian (10,600); but of the 1270 Europeans, 455 were British, 263 French, and 552 of other European nationalities. The predominance of the British element among the European officials is revealed by an analysis of the two higher grades. Among the 104 officials of the first grade—i.e. those

receiving salaries of more than £E.70 per month—47 were British, 19 French, and 38 of other nationalities; and of the 202 officials of the second grade—i.e. receiving salaries of from £E.30 to £E.70 per month—92 were British, 58 French, and 52 of other nationalities.

In the International Courts and Administrations, on the other hand, the British element was very small. The former (the Mixed Law Courts), employed 101 Egyptian and 242 European officials, including the judges; and of this total of 343, only 17 were British. Since the Anglo-French Declaration, the International Administrations have disappeared, with the exception of the Caisse de la Dette; and the powers of this latter have been greatly reduced. It is significant, however, that at this date (1898) the Caisse employed 10 Egyptian and 50 European officials, and among the latter, only 2 were British.

## EGYPTIANS AS CIVIL SERVANTS

In discussing the possibility of substituting Egyptian for European agency in the administrative work of the country, Lord Cromer, in his Annual Report for 1906, gives a clear statement of the policy which has been pursued in this respect by the Egyptian Government, since the date of the Occupation. It is, he writes, 1 'to limit the number of Europeans in the employment of the Government as much as possible, to employ Egyptians in the very great majority of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cd. 3394, p. 33.

the subordinate, and in a large number of the superior administrative posts, and gradually to prepare the ground for increasing the number of Egyptians in high employment.' And he adds, 'I wish most particularly to state that I have never found on the part of any of the higher British officials in this country any tendency to question the wisdom of the policy, or the least reluctance to give effect to it when once they were convinced that a qualified Egyptian could be found to take any post which might happen to be vacant.'

At the same time, the slight degree in which it has proved possible to put this policy into effect is exhibited in the returns, showing the composition of the Egyptian Civil Service respectively, in 1896 and 1906, by which his discussion of this question is accompanied. At the former date, the Departments of Finance, Public Works, Justice, Public Instruction, Railways, Telegraphs, and the Interior (exclusive of the judges and employees of the Mixed Tribunals, and the non-commissioned officers and men of the Police) employed a total of 9134 officials, of whom 8444 were Egyptians and 690 Europeans.

At the latter date, the same departments employed 13,279 officials in all, of whom 12,027 were Egyptians and 1252 Europeans. The increase in the decade, therefore, was: total, 4145; Egyptian, 3583; and European, 562. Thus, while the Egyptian officials had increased by less than 50 per cent., the European officials had increased by more than 75 per cent. Moreover, while in 1896, of the total European officials,

286 were British and 404 of other nationalities, in 1906 the British officials numbered 662, as

against 590 of other nationalities.

A more detailed analysis, however, revealed the further fact that the disproportionate growth of the European officials was due, not to the absence of a desire to employ Egyptians wherever possible, but to the extension of the services in which technical knowledge or professional attainments were essential.

Thus, the railways, which had only come under the direct control of the Egyptian Government after the Anglo-French Declaration, alone accounted for 305 out of the total European increase of 562; the Education Department for 68; and the Public Works Department for 47. As, in the existing circumstances of the country, Egyptians possessing such qualifications are rarely to be found, the Government must either employ Europeans or abandon all hope of further progress in these departments of the Administration.

Moreover, the Egyptians are not only deficient in technical knowledge; they are also wanting in moral qualities. The degrading effects of ten centuries of brutal oppression by the few, and servile submission by the many, cannot be obliterated in a generation. If the people of Egypt, therefore, are to have the benefits of Western civilisation, they must be content now, and for many years to come, to have their affairs mainly administered through the agency of

Europeans.

## CHAPTER IV

#### FIGHTING AGAINST ODDS

The years which have elapsed since the Occupation (1882) are divided into two periods by the Anglo-French Declaration. Up to the date of this event (1904), the inherent difficulties of the work of reform were intensified by the persistent opposition of France. Since this date, the Egyptian Government has enjoyed a greater administrative freedom, but it still remains fettered by the international shackles of the

Mixed Tribunals and the Capitulations.

The opposition of France was based upon the facts that the Occupation was declared by the British Government to be temporary, and that her own consent to the separate action of Great Britain was conditional upon the fulfilment of the implied undertaking of the latter to withdraw her troops so soon as the authority of the Khedive had been re-established. The intention of the British Government was perfectly in accord with its declaration, and at first it was assumed that the scheme of reform outlined by Lord Dufferin's Report would be inaugurated, and the army of Occupation withdrawn, within a few years.

In the event, however, the British Control was no sooner established than the Anglo-Egyptian officials found that three primary objects must be attained before the work of reform could commence at all, on permanent lines. These objects were (1) the remission of part of the financial liabilities imposed by the Law of Liquidation; (2) the improvement of the existing irrigation system; and (3) the protection of the southern frontier against Dervish raids.

#### TINANCIAL BONDAGE

All of these were objects of vital importance, and none of them, in the crippled and disorganised condition of the Government could be secured without a more or less lengthy period of strenuous effort on the part of Lord Cromer and the English Advisers. Of the three, the first was obtained (after the Egyptian Government, under British advice, had violated technically the terms of the financial settlement) in part by the London Convention of 1885, and in part, as the result of further negotiations with the Powers, in 1888.

The advantages gained at the first of these dates by the modification of the Law of Liquidation, then sanctioned by Turkey and the six Great Powers, were these. The division of the total revenue as between the Egyptian Government and the Caisse de la Dette was altered; the interest on the Debt was reduced slightly for the years 1885 and 1886; and the Egyptian Government was allowed to provide for its immediate liabilities and most pressing wants by raising a loan of £9,000,000, guaranteed by the Powers, and therefore carrying interest at

only 3 per cent. The relief secured by the second of these advantages is self-evident, but a few words of explanation must be added in respect of the first and third.

Under the Law of Liquidation, as we have seen, 1 less than one-half of the total revenue was left at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for the ordinary expenses of administration, while the proceeds of the assigned revenues amounted to more than the sum required for the service of the Debt. From the date of the Khedivial Decree (July 27, 1885), by which effect was given to the arrangements sanctioned by the London Convention, an administrative expenditure on a fixed scale was authorised, and if the nonassigned, or Government, revenues were insufficient to provide for this expenditure, then the deficit was made good by the Caisse out of the surplus of the assigned revenues. If, further, after making good the deficit on the authorised expenditure, the Caisse still had a surplus, then one-half only of this final surplus was kept by the Caisse, and the other half was paid over to the Egyptian Government.

The further relief obtained in 1888 was due to Sir Edgar Vincent, the Financial Adviser. Although it had been intended originally that the whole of the share of the final surplus accruing to the Caisse should be used for the reduction of the Debt, the Powers consented to an arrangement under which the extinction of the Debt was not to begin until such time as the annual surpluses had accumulated to the amount of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. II., p. 50.

£E2,000,000, and this sum was to be treated as a Reserve Fund, from which advances might be made to defray extraordinary expenditure of the Egyptian Government undertaken with the consent of the Caisse.

Thanks to Sir Edgar Vincent's advice, when the revenues had begun to increase appreciably under British Control, the Egyptian Government was able to obtain advances which permitted it to carry out some urgently needed, but otherwise unobtainable, public undertakings. To illustrate the working of the Law of Liquidation, as thus modified, the figures for the year 1888 may be given:—

REVENUE. ENPENDITURE.

Assigned (or Service of the Debt £E.4,251,478

Non-Assigned (or Government) • 4,816,131 Authorised 5,112,207

Surplus of Assigned Revenue . £E.593,827
Deficit of Non-Assigned Revenue 296,076

Balance . . . £E.297,751

This balance was reduced further by certain authorised charges to £E.180,054; and of this final surplus, £E.93,027 went to the Egyptian Government and the £E.93,027 was retained by the Caisse. The Egyptian Government first took the sum of £E.1171, being the amount by which its actual expenditure had exceeded the authorised expenditure, from its share of the surplus, and then paid in the balance (£E.91,856)

to a 'Special' Reserve Fund. The share of the

Caisse was paid into the Reserve Fund.

Two points remain to be noticed: (1) the Special Reserve Fund was a fund established by the Egyptian Government to provide for necessary expenditure outside the scale of the authorised expenditure, and unlike the Reserve Fund (or 'General' Reserve Fund) was entirely within its control; and (2) the amount by which the actual expenditure had exceeded the authorised expenditure in this year (1888) was exceptionally small, the average excess for the period 1887-1897 being shown by Sir Elwin Palmer's Tableaux Statistiques to be £E.150,000.

This method of balancing the accounts of the Egyptian Treasury is characterised by Lord Cromer as 'a triumph of financial cumbersomeness and ineptitude.' However justifiable the restraint upon the spending power of the Egyptian Government, thus exercised by the Powers through the Caisse de la Dette, may have been at the first outset of the British régime, when once the revenual capacity of the country had been established it became not merely unnecessary, but actively injurious.

Apart from its general interference with the administrative freedom of the Government, the system produced the entirely indefensible result that, whenever funds were required for any economic reform or work of public utility, the amount of revenue which had to be raised was double the sum actually to be expended; since one-half of all surplus revenue went to the Caisse. And this system, it must be remembered, was

imposed upon the Government at the very time when the need for the development of the resources of the country by reproductive expendi-

ture of every kind was most imperative.

None the less, the relief given by the Convention of London made it just possible for the Egyptian Government, or more correctly, its English Advisers, to find funds not only for the expenses of administration, but for the most necessary of the works required for the economic progress of the country during the period 1882-1904.

#### THE NEED FOR WATER

The third advantage secured for the Egyptian Government by the Convention of London was the permission to borrow a further sum of £9,000,000, under the guarantee of the Powers, at 3 per cent. interest. The immediate purpose for which funds were required was to make good the deficits of the year 1882–1885, and to pay off the Alexandria indemnities; <sup>1</sup> but in addition to the amount sufficient for this purpose the Powers, on the representation of England, agreed to allow the new loan to include a sum of £1,000,000, which was to be appropriated to irrigation and drainage.

This 'irrigation million' was supplemented by a further £800,000, obtained in 1890, as the result of the conversion economies effected in that

<sup>1</sup> I.c. the compensation awarded to Europeans for the destruction of life and property caused by the Arabi insurrection.

year.¹ The original million enabled the Anglo-Indian engineers, enlisted in 1883, to repair the Barrage—a costly, but hitherto useless work erected at the apex of the Nile, just below Cairo—and thereby provide the cotton plantations of the Delta with a greatly improved service of summer water, and to effect certain other immediately necessary repairs in the irrigation canals of Middle Egypt. The supplementary £800,000 was applied to the repair and extension of the irrigation and drainage works in Upper Egypt, and generally, wherever such improvements were required.

As the grant of the second sum was the direct result of the increase of revenue produced by the judicious expenditure of the original million, the importance of the boon thus secured at the London Convention can scarcely be overestimated. And the fact that any increase of the debt of Egypt was strenuously, and in view of the past not altogether unreasonably, opposed by France, emphasises the value of the services then performed by England on behalf of Egypt.

The attainment of the second of the three primary objects of Anglo-Egyptian statesmanship—the improvement of the irrigation system—was made possible, therefore, by the attainment of the first; since the financial assistance obtained under the London Convention enabled this all-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Privileged Debt was converted from 5 per cent. to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. By this and other transactions the total of the nominal capital of the Debt was increased by £3,904,000, but the annual charges for interest and sinking fund were reduced by £E.314,000.

important economic reform to be pursued actively from that time onwards. The vast works deemed necessary to ensure an ample water supply for the enlarged cultivable area of Egypt, and at the same time to provide for the future irrigation needs of the Sudan, still await completion. But the Anglo-Indian engineers, who were placed in virtual control of the Public Works Department in 1883, brought such energy, skill, and devotion to their task that before ten years had elapsed the financial capacity of the country was established, and its ultimate restoration to prosperity remained no longer in doubt.

'So far as Egypt is concerned,' Lord Cromer wrote in his Annual Report for 1891, 'I have no hesitation in saying that the expenditure of this £1,800,000 on irrigation and drainage has contributed probably more than any one cause to the comparative prosperity that the country now [i.e. in 1892] enjoys. It ensured the solvency of the Egyptian Treasury, and until this was done, no very serious effort was possible in the direction of moral and material progress.'

The moral value of the services rendered by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, Colonel Ross, Sir William Willcocks, and their associates and successors, is stated by Lord Cromer in a passage in his *Modern Egypt*, which is of such wide

significance that I venture to quote it.

'The British engineer, in fact, unconsciously accomplished a feat which, in the eyes of a politician, is perhaps even more remarkable than that of controlling the refractory waters of the Nile. He justified western methods to eastern

minds. He inculcated, in a manner which arrested and captivated even the blurred intellect and wayward imagination of the poor, ignorant Egyptian fellah, the lesson that the usurer and the retailer of adulterated drinks are not the sole products of European civilisation; and, inasmuch as he achieved this object, he deserves the gratitude, not only of all intelligent Asiatics, but also of all Europeans—of the rulers of Algiers and of Tunis, as well as those of India.'1

#### THE DERVISH PERIL

The third object, the defence of Egypt against Dervish inroads, was a necessity suddenly imposed by the rise of the Mahdi <sup>2</sup> and the collapse of Egyptian government in the Sudan. When, early in 1883, the success of the fanatical crusade preached by the Mahdi (a certain Mohammed Ahmed, a student of religion in the province of Dongola) became menacing, the British Government endeavoured to separate the 'Sudan question' from the 'question of Egypt proper.' They had occupied Egypt with the greatest reluctance, and they earnestly desired to avoid the further responsibility of military intervention in the vast and inhospitable region, equal in extent to twice the united area of Germany and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Modern Egypt, p. 825.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Literally the 'guided one,' upon whose coming, according to Mohammedan tradition, the world was to be converted to the religion of Mohammed.

France, which Ismail had shamelessly mis-

governed.

The policy was in itself perfectly justifiable; but the methods by which Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet sought to give effect to it were so maladroit, as to expose them to the charge of intentionally closing their eyes to the real facts of the situation. The position that 'Her Majesty's Government were in no way responsible for the operations in the Sudan, which had been undertaken under the authority of the Egyptian Government,'-taken up by Lord Granville in his telegram of May 7, to Mr (now Sir Chauncy) Cartwright, the acting British Agent,-was rendered untenable by the news which reached Cairo on November 22, that General Hicks's army had been destroyed completely by the Mahdi on November 5.

In the meantime, just three days after General Hicks had started from Khartum with his miserably inefficient native troops, Lord Cromer (then Sir Evelyn Baring) had arrived at Cairo, and had applied himself at once to the duty of conveying to Mr Gladstone's Cabinet his own sense of the utter incapacity, both military and financial, of the Egyptian Government to deal successfully with the revolt of the Mahdi, and of the consequent futility of the attempt to dissociate the British Control from the situation in the Sudan.

As the result of Lord Cromer's representations the British Government realised that, in view of its own unwillingness, and the Egyptian Government's inability, to destroy the power of the Mahdi, the only possible course was to insist upon the evacuation of the Sudan. Lord Cromer was instructed accordingly by Lord Granville, that in the Sudan question, as in other matters, the advice of England, when given, must be followed. This course was naturally unpopular in Egypt, and rather than become a party to a measure so humiliating, Chérif Pasha, who had been Prime Minister since the Occupation, resigned, and a new Ministry, formed by Nubar Pasha, took office early in the following January.

The agent employed by the British Government to give effect to its decision was General Gordon. Lord Cromer was opposed to the appointment, but allowed his own judgment to be overborne, not so much by the desire of Mr Gladstone's Cabinet, as by the force of English public opinion, and Gordon left London for Khartum on January

18, 1884.

At Cairo he received specific instructions to effect the evacuation, a policy with which he declared himself at the time (January 25) to be in complete agreement, and was appointed by the Khedive for this purpose Governor-General of the Sudan. The tardy and inconsistent military action, which was deemed responsible for the death of Gordon at Khartum, a year later (January 26, 1885), brought Mr Gladstone's Cabinet into grave discredit.

That the policy of evacuation was right in itself, is now, however, generally recognised; and after thirteen years of patient organisation the credit of the Egyptian troops was restored, and the military prestige of Great Britain

vindicated, by the overwhelming defeat of the Mahdi's successor, the Khalifa Abdullah-el-Taashi, before the town of Omdurman, on

September 2, 1898.

The destruction of the Dervish tyranny was followed by the establishment of the condominium, or joint rule, of England and Egypt over the devastated and depopulated provinces of the Sudan. In the fifteen years which have elapsed since the agreement between the British and Egyptian Governments of January 19, 1899, the population of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has been nearly doubled, a new Khartum has been built, railways and telegraphs constructed, and the revenue has risen from £E.127,000 in 1899 to £E.1.424.000 in 1912.

## EVACUATION DEMANDED

In 1886, when the immediate difficulties of the Egyptian Government under the British control had been surmounted, Turkey formally demanded that England should give effect to her original and declared intention of withdrawing her troops so soon as the authority of the Khedive had been restored. In response to this demand the British Government in 1887 offered to withdraw the Army of Occupation within three years, stipulating, however, that the reorganised Egyptian army should remain for two years longer under the command of British officers. The offer was accompanied by two conditions. First, that England should have the right to

reoccupy the country, if its internal peace or external security should be threatened; and second, that Turkey, in concert with England, should recommend to the Powers a proposal for the abolition of the capitulations and the establishment of a uniform legislature and jurisdiction for the European and Egyptian populations. recognition of a British right of reoccupation, however, was not acceptable to France, and the (Drummond Wolff) Convention, which embodied these terms, was rejected at the last moment by the Sultan in deference to the representations of that Power, supported by Russia. The question of evacuation thereupon fell into abevance; and very soon the Anglo-Egyptian administration, guided by a statesman-diplomatist who knew how to 'make haste slowly,' by sheer hard work and devotion to duty, had thrust from its path the most formidable of the obstacles which at first had hindered the progress of reform.

# CHAPTER V

#### AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE

AFTER the failure of the Drummond Wolff negotiations, the Powers acquiesced in the continuance of the military occupation of Egypt by England; and, in spite of the financial and other international fetters, by which the Khedive's Government was hampered, the work of administrative and economic reform was carried on by the Anglo-Egyptian officials during the period 1882 to 1904 with a success that commanded the reluctant approval of Europe. During this period, however, the normal difficulties arising out of the international factor were increased by the persistently obstructive action of the representatives of France upon the Mixed Courts and the International Administrations. The removal of this vexatious, and sometimes dangerous, political opposition from the path of the Anglo-Egyptian Administration was the first and most notable result of the Entente Cordiale.

The circumstances in which the Anglo-French Declaration of April 8, 1904, was made, and the manner in which it affected the position of the Egyptian Government, are told by Lord Cromer in his Annual Report for 1904.

Of the need for an agreement with France on the question of the Occupation, he wrote:—

'In the first place, the British Government, being at the time imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the task which they had undertaken, had given an engagement that their occupation of

Egypt should be of short duration.

'In the second place, circumstances, which were beyond the control of any Government, rendered it quite impossible to fulfil this engagement without disastrous consequences ensuing to all the various interests concerned, whether European or Egyptian. From 1882 up to the present time [1905] the withdrawal of the British garrison would have involved, not a settlement, but rather a reopening of the Egyptian question—possibly in a more embarrassing form than any which has heretofore presented itself for solution. . . . .'

'Such, therefore, being the main facts of the case, there was obviously only one honourable way out of the dilemma. It consisted in modifying by mutual consent the engagement which

was originally taken.'

The Declaration, then, was part of an agreement reached between the two countries in the course of the years 1903–1904, in which, apart from the question of Egypt, a number of points in dispute relating to Newfoundland, Nigeria, Siam, Madagasear, and the New Hebrides were amicably settled. So far as Egypt was concerned, the consideration offered to France for the withdrawal of her opposition was the undertaking on the part of England to support the action of France in establishing her authority over Morocco. The results of the general agreement thus reached

were embodied in three Conventions, signed by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, and M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, in London, on April 8, 1904, on behalf of their respective Governments.

In pursuance of the agreement in respect of Egypt, the Governments of the two countries made a 'Declaration' of policy. In this instrument the British Government declare 'that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt'; while the French Government, for their part, declare 'that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation, or in any other manner.' And a declaration similar to that of France was made subsequently by the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. The British Government further declare that they 'will respect the rights which France, in virtue of Treaties, Conventions, and usage, enjoys in Egypt'; and subsequently took a similar engagement to the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

# THE GAIN IN FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FREEDOM

In addition to regularising the occupation of Egypt by England, the position of the Egyptian Government (under British control) was improved materially in other respects by the Anglo-French Agreement. A Khedivial Decree, which was

published with the consent of the Powers on November 28, 1904, and came into operation on January 1, 1905, was annexed to the Declaration. The effect of this Decree was to abolish the cumbersome system of financial checks imposed by the Law of Liquidation and other Khedivial Decrees, dating from 1876 to 1902, and to limit the powers of the Caisse de la Dette to such as were necessary to enable it to secure the due receipt of the funds required for the service of the Debt.

The modus operandi was to substitute a single source of revenue, practically the whole of the Land Tax, for the revenues derived from the Railways, Telegraphs, Port of Alexandria, Customs (including tobacco), and the four assigned provinces, all of which, under the fifty-two Decrees now wholly or partially repealed, had been pledged to the service of the Debt. As the result of this operation and the accompanying limitation of the powers of the Caisse, the Egyptian Government regained control of the whole 1 of the administrative machinery of the State (including the railways), was free to dispose of its revenue as it thought fit-a freedom which it had not enjoyed since 1875-and received from the Caisse some £10,000,000 of accumulated surpluses, hitherto lying idle, but now available for capital expenditure on works of public utility.

The greater part of the accumulated surpluses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Domains and Daira Administrations—the only International Administrations (except the *Caisse*) now left—presented no difficulties, and the loans secured on them were expected to be extinguished at an early date. This expectation has been fulfilled.

was derived from the Conversion Economies Fund, which consisted of the savings effected by the reduction of the rate of interest on the preference stock from 5 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; these savings having been paid annually to the Caisse de la Dette, and allowed to accumulate at compound interest since 1890. The fund had been swollen also by the savings effected by the conversions of the Daira and Domains loans.

Of this particular result of the persistent opposition of France, Lord Cromer wrote: 'Perhaps the least defensible portion of the financial system, which has now (1905) happily been abolished, was that which allowed the Conversion Economies to accumulate at compound interest in the hands of the Commissioners of the Debt. On December 31, 1904, this fund amounted to £E.6,031,000. It is notorious that the reasons why this course was adopted were wholly political, and I do not propose, on the present occasion, to enter into any political discussion. I may, however, indicate the purely financial objections to the system. Not only do all the objections . . . as regards the accumulation of large amounts of money in the General Reserve Fund, apply in this case, but no saving clause existed—as in the case of this latter fund under which the money could be spent on works of public utility. It had to be invested in Government stock, and as most of the purchases were made at a price above par, the fund really acted as a very expensive form of sinking fund.'

The extent of the change thus brought about in the financial system of Egypt is exhibited in the fact that the estimates for 1905 and onwards are framed in an easily intelligible form. That is to say, they are presented under the heads of Revenue and Expenditure (ordinary and special), and General Reserve Fund, this latter being the amount from time to time at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for capital expenditure on development works.

#### THE NEUTRALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

A further result of the Anglo-French Agreement was the adoption by the British and Egyptian Governments of the arrangements made for the neutralisation of the Sucz Canal in the Convention of October 29, 1888. The position was this: Under Article 1 of the Convention, the signatory Powers (England, Germany, Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey) agreed that the canal should 'always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag.'

The adhesion of Great Britain to this principle was limited, however, by the declaration that she would not be bound by the Convention during the Occupation of Egypt by the British forces. Under the Anglo-French Agreement certain provisions of the Convention were declared to be left in abeyance, but with this exception the

<sup>1</sup> These provisions were concerned with the international authority set up for the execution of the Convention in the event of the security of the Canal being menaced.

British Government declared (in Article 6) that they 'adhered to the stipulations of the Treaty of October 29, 1888, and agreed to put it into force.'

#### THE CAPITULATIONS UNAFFECTED

The extra-territorial rights of the Capitulatory Powers were left unaffected by the Agreement, but it was understood that France would cooperate with England in any reasonable measures proposed by the Egyptian Government for terminating the régime of the Capitulations. The position is stated in Lord Lansdowne's

despatch explanatory of the Agreement.

'It is necessary that I should add a few words,' the Foreign Secretary wrote, 'as to the other point in which the internal rights of Sovereignty of the Egyptian Government are subject to international interference. These are the consequences of the system known as that of the Capitulations. It comprises the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts and of the Mixed Tribunals, the latter applying a legislation which requires the consent of all the European Powers, and some extra-European Powers, before it can be modified. In Lord Cromer's opinion the time is not ripe for any organic changes in this direction, and His Majesty's Government have not, therefore, on the present occasion, proposed any alterations in this respect. At the same time, whenever Egypt is ready for the introduction of a legislative and judicial system similar to that which exists in other civilised countries, we have sufficient

grounds for counting upon French co-operation in

effecting the necessary changes.'

In the Anglo-French Declaration, accordingly, under Article III., the British Government declare that they will 'respect the rights which France, in virtue of Treaties, Conventions, and usage, enjoys in Egypt.' And subsequently, a similar official pledge was given by England to the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, and accepted by these Powers.

# CHAPTER VI

## EGYPT'S DEBT TO BRITAIN

The conclusion of the Anglo-French Agreement, although it left the system of the Capitulations untouched, in other respects so materially improved the position of the Anglo-Egyptian Administration, that it constitutes, in Lord Cromer's words, a 'fresh point of departure in Egyptian affairs.' From this date (1905) onward to the present time, the work of political, social, and economic reform has proceeded unchecked by financial straits or the deliberate obstruction of a rival Power.

The difficulties inherent in a task which is nothing less than to effect a change of national character remained. But the hindrances to progress subsequently encountered—and still existing—were due to political disturbances of domestic origin, or to economic troubles, and to the limitations imposed by the Capitulations upon the legislative and administrative activities of the Government. And, as the sequel will show, some advance has been made in recent years towards the removal of even this latter obstacle, formidable as it is.

The present is, therefore, a suitable opportunity for reviewing the results obtained during the thirty years in which England has occupied the country. As a necessary preliminary, however, to this review, the condition of Egypt at the date of the Occupation must be recalled; since, without this basis of comparison, it is difficult to gauge the actual value of the reforms already effected, and still more difficult to estimate the prospect of further progress which is afforded by the measures only recently brought into operation for the future development of the country and its inhabitants.

In 1882 the total population of Egypt amounted to some 7,000,000. Of this total, the great majority (mainly fellaheen and Copts), who formed what may be termed 'the real Egyptians,' were sharply divided from a small minority which was composed of the Turco-Egyptians, Armenians, and Syrians, and the 100,000 resident Europeans. The real Egyptians were oppressed and impoverished, directly or indirectly, by the privileged minority. They were degraded, ignorant, and politically, not merely impotent, but inarticulate.

It followed, therefore, that to give justice to the mass of the Egyptian people, was in effect to dispossess the privileged few of their power of oppressing and impoverishing the unprivileged many. And, moreover, since to give justice to the mass of the people was the first object of the reforms inaugurated by Lord Dufferin, it also followed that all that was politically articulate in Egypt was openly or secretly hostile to the British régime.

Nor was this all. The real Egyptians were not only politically impotent, and therefore inarticulate, but they were mainly Moslems. That is to

say, they ascribed all the benefits which resulted from the British reforms to 'Allah,' but any disadvantages or inconveniences which accompanied these benefits they laid at the door of the British administrators, who, being Christians, were the enemies of Allah. They were also Orientals, whose customs and methods of reasoning made them not only incapable of co-operating with their benefactors, but distrustful of every manifestation of Western activity.

## ABOLITION OF THE COURBASH

At the present time, the disorder and oppression prevalent at the period of the Occupation has almost passed out of mind. Certainly the visitor will find little or no trace of the old Turkish brutality in the Egypt of to-day; and it is only from the testimony of Europeans long resident in the country, that the greatness of the change brought about by British rule can be realised.

'Before the English came,' said one of those old residents-not an Englishman-to the writer in 1899, 'the Pashas and the rich men paid no taxes, or very little; the poor men paid taxes on everything. Every woman in Egypt has a bit of gold, often her sole wealth. I have seen poor women made to give up their bits of gold-made by the blows of the courbash. The English have changed all that.'

Lord Cromer, whose acquaintance with Egypt dates back to 1877, may be cited as a witness under this head; and in his Modern Egypt he F.E.

gives an astonishing instance of the refinements of Oriental cruelty, which came under his

'personal notice.'

'A Mudir was in the habit of causing a burning rag, steeped in spirits of wine, to be held close to the mouth of any recalcitrant taxpayer, who then received a blow on the chest, the consequence of which was that, the air being expelled from his lungs, he was obliged to take a deep breath to refill them. The flame was thus drawn into his mouth. The official who was guilty of this particular act of barbarity was by no means a bad specimen of his class. . . . It was with the aid of administrative material such as this Mudir that the English had, in the first instance, to create the new Egypt.' 1

Although it was formerly the custom of the governing classes in Egypt to practise many cruel forms of torture on the population,' he adds that such refinements of cruelty as the above

were 'comparatively rare.'

'On the other hand.' he continues, 'the use of the courbash, a strip of hippopotamus hide, tapering at the end, was universal. When such a simple and effectual form of torture as flogging with this implement could readily be applied, there was, indeed, no need for refinements in cruelty. The courbash was employed on every occasion where coercion or punishment was required, but notably for the collection of taxes and for extracting either the evidence of witnesses or the confession of persons accused of crime.'

As we have noticed before, the suppression

<sup>1</sup> Modern Egypt, p. 771.

of the courbash was one of the earliest results of the British control. The corvée, the system of forced and unpaid labour from which the fellaheen especially suffered, was by no means so utterly indefensible as the use of the courbash; but by 1892 it had been found possible to secure the virtual abolition of this evil.

#### DIMINUTION OF CORRUPTION

A feature of the Turco-Egyptian government of Egypt, which was even more characteristic than its brutality, was the universal corruption prevailing throughout every branch of the administration, from the chiefs of the Ministries at Cairo to the village Sheikhs. The enormous injury caused to the economic interests of the country by the ingrained venality of the Egyptian officials appears in the fact before mentioned, that, apart from the expenditure upon the Suez Canal, a sum of only some £10,000,000 out of the £85,000,000 borrowed by Ismail was actually applied to the public purposes for which the loans were ostensibly raised.

Of the evil itself, and the manner in which it permeated the entire fabric of Egyptian society,

Lord Cromer himself writes :--

'Ismail Pasha's subjects followed humbly in the footsteps of their master. They took and they paid bribes. From the half-naked donkeyboy, who in shrill tones demanded "bakhshish" to the extent of a piastre or two from the winter tourist, to the highly-placed Pasha, whose assistance could only be obtained by the payment of more substantial sums, all, or nearly all, were venal. The contractor bribed the Minister to obtain a contract on terms unduly advantageous to himself, and would then bribe the Clerk of the Works in order that he should not inquire too carefully as to whether the terms of the contract had or had not been strictly executed. The subordinate official bribed his superior in order to get promotion. The landowner bribed the engineer in order that he should obtain more water for his fields than was his due. The Kadis (Judges) were paid by both the plaintiff and the defendant to any suit, the decision being usually given in favour of the highest bidder. The Government surveyors were bribed to make false measurements of land. The village Sheikhs were bribed to accord exemption from the corvée and from military service. The police were bribed by everybody who had the misfortune to be brought into contact with them. The passenger by railway found it cheaper to give "bakhshish" to the guard or to the ticket-collector than to pay for a ticket.' 1

The operation of this moral canker in the administration of Egyptian affairs has not been eradicated by any means by the British control, but it has been sensibly checked. The main agencies to which the diminution of administrative corruption is to be attributed are stated by Lord

Cromer to be these :--

(1) The institution of a proper system of accounts and audit in all branches of the public 1 Modern Egypt, p. 789.

service; the adoption of the practice of inviting tenders for public works and Government supplies; and the regular payment of adequate salaries to officials and employees.

(2) The purification of the Law Courts and the gradual improvement of the personnel of the

Judicature.

(3) Administrative reforms, such as the virtual abolition of the corvée, and the introduction of

a proper system of recruiting for the Army.

(4) The employment of British officials, who, being themselves, with the rarest exceptions, incorruptible, have set an example of integrity to their non-British colleagues and subordinates. The value of this last agency can be measured by the circumstance, that the departments in which the greatest advance in efficiency has been attained are precisely those in which the influence and action of the British officials has been least impeded by international or other interferences.

None the less, corruption does exist, even in the public services, and will continue to exist until the Egyptian people as a whole have been purged of the vice of 'bakhshish.' It is scarcely necessary to add, that before such a complete transformation of the national character can be effected, generations, possibly centuries, must

run their course.

Apart from the suppression of gross brutality and the diminution of corruption, the efficiency of every department of the Government has been vastly improved. Conclusive evidence on the point is afforded by the improvement in the material conditions of the people which has been effected since the Occupation. Within the short period of thirty years, thanks to British administration, Egypt has changed from poverty to affluence. The salient features of the change are reflected in the annual returns of revenue, trade, industries, and the like; and a reference to the more important of these returns will provide a convenient measure of the actual progress so far achieved.

#### GROWTH OF POPULATION AND PRODUCTION

In the census of 1882, the population was returned at 6,831,131; in 1912 it had risen, according to the last census (1907), to 11,287,359—an increase by natural increment of over 50 per cent. for the period of twenty-five years.

In 1880, the total external trade, excluding specie, was of the value of £E.19,500,000; in 1912 it was of the value of over £E.60,000,000.

In 1883, the revenue was £E.8,935,000, the total expenditure £E.9,856,000, and there was a deficit of £E.921,000; in 1912 the returns were made up as under:—

Revenue .	٠	£E.17,515,000
Expenditure:-		
Ordinary .		£E.14,822,000
Special .		648,000
		15,470,000
Surplus .	•	2,045,000
Reserve Fund	٠	£E.6,124,000

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The £E. =£1 0s. 6d.

In 1883, the amount of the Debt held by the public was £96,457,000, and the annual charges on it were £4,268,000; in 1912, in spite of additions to the extent of £18,210,000, the amount held by the public had been reduced to £88,910,460, and the annual charges to £E.3,352,000.

Although the revenue, however, had thus been doubled and the actual debt appreciably decreased, the burden of taxation had been materially lessened. In 1882, the taxation per head of population was £1 1s. 11d.; ten years later it had sunk to 16s. 2d., and in 1903, 1905, and 1906 it was still further reduced. In all, some £2,000,000 per annum of direct taxation, apart from considerable reductions of indirect taxation, was remitted.

The production of raw cotton is not merely the principal industry of Egypt, but it is upon this single industry, providing as it does three-fourths of the total export, that the prosperity of the country depends. For the five-year period, 1880-1834, the average annual export of cotton was 2,750,171 kantars 1 in amount, and approximately £E.7,000,000 in value.

In 1912, the cotton crop was estimated to yield 7,500,000 kantars in weight, and the value of the raw cotton exported was £E.27,529,277.

During the same thirty years the cultivation of sugar-cane, which had been first introduced at the date of the Occupation, grew into a considerable industry; and in 1912 the sugar-cane crop was estimated at 21,250,000 kantars in

<sup>1</sup> Kantar = 99 lb.

amount, while sugar to the amount of 240,475 kantars, and of the value of £E.182,306, was exported. Concurrently with this expansion of cotton and sugar production, a general development of the agricultural resources of the country had been effected, and in particular the area of cultivated land had been increased by 1,000,000 acres, or approximately 25 per cent.

#### THE GREAT IRRIGATION WORKS

The agency most directly responsible for this revolution in the fortunes of Egypt was in a special degree the product of the British control. As before noticed, the more important positions in the Ministry of Public Works and the Irrigation Department were filled almost exclusively by British officials. The vast works for the storage and distribution of the waters of the Nile, to which Egypt owes its greatly augmented and assured water supply, were designed by British engineers and executed by British contractors. The introduction of perennial irrigation in Middle Egypt, the augmentation of the water-supply of the perennially irrigated cotton areas of the Delta, the reclamation of hitherto uncultivated or recently abandoned lands, and the improvement of the drainage and irrigation systems of the country as a whole, were all alike, the work of the British engineers and other officers of the Irrigation Department

A few figures will serve, both to indicate the salient features of the achievements of this department, and to show that their economic

importance has not been over-estimated.

In the five years, 1898-1903, two dams, respectively at Aswan and Assiut, were thrown across the Nile at a cost of £E.3,237,265. Of these the former has created the great Nile reservoir in the Nubian valley, above the first cataract. As originally constructed, it consisted of a bar of solid masonry, a mile and a quarter in length, with a crest 26.4 feet wide, a maximum breadth of base of 82.5 feet, and a maximum height from its lowest base of 92.4 feet; and it provided a storage capacity of 980,000,000 cubic metres of water. Its purpose was to secure an ample and assured supply of water-primarily for the perennially irrigated areas of the Delta, and, in a secondary degree, for all the cultivated lands of Egypt. The latter, the Barrage, or open weir, at Assiut, was designed to raise the level of the Nile, when required, immediately above the intake of the Ibrahimia Canal, and thus secure an augmented water supply for Middle Egypt; that is to say, for the cultivated lands lying between Assiut and Cairo.

Apart from the great benefit rendered to Lower Egypt, and in particular to the cotton areas of the Delta, the construction of these two dams enabled an area of 466,000 feddans,1 in Middle Egypt to be converted from basin 2 to perennial

<sup>1</sup> Practically = acres.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I.e. irrigated only during the season of high Nile.

irrigation. The new subsidiary works, and the improvements in the existing drainage and irrigation systems, necessary for the conversion were completed by the end of 1910. Of the economic gain secured by this particular undertaking, Sir William Garstin wrote in 1905 (i.e. when about half the total area had been converted) that for an expenditure of some £6,500,000—an expenditure which includes the entire cost of the two Nile dams—'the annual rental of the land affected in Middle Egypt should be increased by £E.2,637,000,

and its sale value by £E.26,570,000.'

Between the years 1907 and 1912 the Aswan dam was heightened by five metres; and, as the result of this measure, the water level of the reservoir was raised by seven metres, its volume increased by 1,500,000,000 cubic metres, and the total storage capacity was raised to 2,420,000,000 cubic metres. The entire cost of the operation was £1,520,000. Of this sum, £1,200,000 was expenditure upon the actual works required to strengthen the original structure to an extent commensurate with the additional strain imposed upon it, and £320,000 was paid to the Antiquities Department for 'research in the portion of the valley about to be submerged, and provision for the expropriation of land and houses belonging to the Nubian villagers along the banks of the Nile.'1 By means of the increase in the capacity of the reservoir thus obtained, it is estimated that sufficient water will be available in summer to irrigate nearly 1,000,000 acres of formerly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Annual Report for 1912.

waste land in the northern parts of the Delta.1

One other conspicuous structure must be noticed. In 1906-1908, a barrage, with the necessary subsidiary works, was built across the Nile at Esna, in Upper Egypt. The purpose of this work, which was executed by the contractors, Messrs. Aird & Co.,2 in the remarkably short period of less than three years, was to enable the basin lands in the province of Kena to receive an adequate supply of water, even in a year of low Nile. But, although its immediate purpose was thus to promote 'flood 'irrigation, the barrage was so constructed as to admit of its being raised. and otherwise adapted to the purposes of perennial irrigation, when once an increased summer supply of water for Egypt as a whole had been obtained. The cost of this work, by which a large area of Upper Egypt has been protected against the ill effects of a low Nile, was £1,000,000.

Nubar Pasha, who succeeded Chérif as Prime Minister, in 1884, when the latter resigned in preference to adopting the policy of the abandonment of the Sudan, is credited with the saying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The design for raising the dam, as also the scheme for the original structure, was the work of the late Sir Benjamin Baker, who was President of the International Commission by which the original plans were approved. Sir Benjamin visited the dam in 1907, when he assured himself of its stability and solidity, but he did not live to see the completion of a work which forms 'a very lasting and brilliant example of his genius as an engineer.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also the contractors for the Aswan Dam and other works.

that all that Egypt wanted was 'water' and 'justice.' The recent projects by which it is intended still further to augment and assure the all-important water-supply of Egypt and the Sudan, will be discussed subsequently as a factor in the future development of the Nile valley. But the foregoing statement of what has been achieved by the Irrigation Department since the date of the Occupation is in itself sufficient to show that England may claim already to have

given 'water' to the Egyptians.

In a broad sense, by the abolition of the courbash, the virtual suppression of the corvée, the removal of the burden of excessive taxation from the shoulders of the poor, and by purifying and rendering more efficient the Native Tribunals, she has also given 'justice' to Egypt. But the time is still distant when 'even the powerful ministers of civilisation which England has introduced can create the spirit of justice in the people themselves. The great irrigation works which bar the Nile, and conserve and distribute its flood, have given Egypt "water"; but the Egyptians must give themselves "justice."' 1

## THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

In order to prepare the way for this change of national character, England has made a commencement of giving the Egyptians knowledge. For a long time the efforts of the Ministry of Education were directed to the primary aim

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The phrases are quoted from a passage written by the author in 1899 (*The Redemption of Egypt*, p. 14.).

of providing a supply of young Egyptians capable of being employed in the public services. For fifteen years, therefore, the institutions for professional and technical instruction and the handful of Government schools, established for this purpose prior to the Occupation, were improved and developed. That the primary object of this limited education system was obtained, is apparent from the words in which Lord Cromer refers to it in his Annual Report for 1898.

At this date there were some 8000 pupils in attendance at the schools and colleges directly administered by the Government; and in commenting upon the advance secured in the preceding ten years, he then wrote: 'But the point which perhaps more than any other deserves notice is that evidence is forthcoming of the capability of the Egyptian schools and colleges to turn out a number of young men who will be able to take a useful and honourable, albeit sometimes humble, part in the administration of their own country. It would be unduly optimistic to suppose that for many years to come the educational system can attain any higher ideal than this.'

At the same time, although up to this date the system had only been slightly expanded, its efficiency had been greatly increased, and in one very important particular a cardinal change had been introduced. At the time of the Occupation the Egyptian Government not only provided the machinery for training this handful of young Egyptians, drawn almost entirely from the wealthy and influential classes, but it gave this

education practically free of charge. In other words, the Egyptian parent was bribed to allow

his boys to receive a European education.

Under British control the parents were taught gradually that this education was a benefit and not a disability; and that if they wanted their sons to obtain the advantages which it offered, they must be prepared to make the monetary sacrifice necessary to pay, in part at least, for the cost of providing it. This policy was so far successful that the proportion of fee-paying pupils was raised in the Government schools from 5 per cent. in 1879 to 86 per cent. in 1898.

This limited machinery for education upon European lines, aided as it was by a considerable number of private schools, could not be expected, however, to exercise any appreciable influence upon the character of the mass of the population. How completely it failed to touch the Egyptian people as a whole, may be seen from the fact that in the last census (1907) approximately 95 per cent. of the entire population of the country (11,189,978) were returned as being unable to read or write.

The effort to establish a national system of education, which is now being made, dates from the year 1897. The idea governing the operations of the Ministry of Education in this respect was the belief, that the existing Moslem institutions for education could be quickened into vitality, and that if this were done, they would provide the best and surest basis upon which such a system could be founded.

Under this belief, an endeavour was made in

1897-1898 to utilise the Kuttabs, which were generally attached to the Mosques, as primary vernacular schools. A certain number of these schools had been taken over and directly controlled by the Government from 1890, but at this date (1897) it was decided to make an effort to raise the standard of these indigenous schools, as a whole, by the offer of grants-in-aid to those among them which were prepared to submit to Government supervision and inspection.

In pursuance of the same policy, in 1907-1908, proposals for the reorganisation of the Moslem University of El-Azhar, and all similar religious bodies, were approved by the Government, and 'with the concurrence of all the principal Mohammedan dignitaries' embodied in a law, which was duly promulgated. These proposals proved to be abortive; but in 1910 a new effort was made. In this year a Commission was appointed, and the comprehensive scheme of reforms which it recommended was duly inaugurated in 1911.

Under the law, by which effect was given to the recommendations of the Commission, the University of El-Azhar, and the kindred schools of Alexandria, Tanta, Dessuk, and Damietta, comprising some 14,000 students and 524 professors, were reorganised. In particular the syllabus of instruction was enlarged by the admission of 'subjects hitherto unknown to El-Azhar, including drawing, geometry, hygiene, natural history, and pedagogy.' The general administration of this ancient and once famous seat of learning was 'placed in the hands of a Rector, assisted by a Professional Council, nominated in part by the teaching staff and partly by the Council of Ministers; there is also a Superior Council with greatly extended powers presided over by the Rector, and consisting of eight members, four of whom, including the Director-General of the Wakfs, are Government officials.

In the meantime, a further and equally significant advance had been made. In 1910, the principle of popular control was introduced into the working of the national education system, thus inaugurated, under the provisions in the Provincial Councils Law of 1909, which gave the supervision of elementary vernacular education (including instruction in agriculture and handicrafts) in the provinces, subject to the inspection of schools by the Ministry of Education, to the Provincial Councils.

One other feature in the education policy of the Egyptian Government under the British control remains to be noticed. An earnest and successful effort has been made to terminate the virtual exclusion of girls from educational opportunities, which was one of the social characteristics of Egypt as of other Moslem communities. The effect of this effort may be measured by the fact that in 1912 approximately one-fourth of the pupils attending the schools and colleges under the direct management of the Ministry of Education were girls; while in the larger number of such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Administration of charitable foundations and trusts.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report for 1911.

institutions under inspection by the Ministry approximately one-tenth of the pupils were girls.

To summarise the progress of education under

British control:-

In 1882, no attempt was being made to educate

girls or to reach the mass of the population.

In 1912, girls constituted an appreciable proportion of the pupils in the Government and Government-inspected schools and colleges; and the reform of the elementary vernacular schools had been commenced on permanent lines. Of these latter, the Ministry of Education controlled directly the 146 Kuttabs, mainly in Cairo, which they had taken over from the Wakfs administration; but the responsibility for the further development of the schools of this class in the provinces had been transferred to the Provincial Councils.

In these two respects, and in the reorganisation of the El-Azhar University and other similar Moslem institutions, an entirely new departure has been made. As regards the work of the Ministry of Education in its more narrow sense, however, a basis of comparison is afforded by the returns. In 1880, therefore, the number of pupils in schools and colleges under the direct management or inspection of the Department of Education was 5000.

In 1912, the Ministry of Education had under its direct management 208 schools and colleges with a total attendance of 29,047; and under inspection, 3996 elementary and higher-grade schools, with a total attendance of 227,588. And in each case the total attendance was made up of pupils of both sexes.

#### GOVERNMENT BY EXPERTS

In the foregoing pages of this chapter an attempt has been made to draw together the main results achieved during the past thirty years by the Egyptian Government under British control. These results, taken collectively, have enabled Egypt, in Lord Cromer's words, to 'leap at a bound from poverty to affluence.' They are remarkable in themselves, and they constitute a record of which Englishmen may well be proud. But in contemplating them it is necessary to remember the two salient facts which emerge from a study of the conditions under which they were produced. Otherwise a quite erroneous impression of their bearing upon the future of the country may be left upon the mind.

The first and most important of these facts is that the progress thus attained is the work, not of the Egyptians themselves, but of a body of administrative and professional experts, which no other country than Britain could have furnished. The premature withdrawal of British control, entailing, as it would, the loss of the services of these experts, would be followed, therefore, in all probability by the collapse of the entire fabric of the administrative machinery by

which this progress has been secured.

The second fact is one which is no less intimately connected with the continuance of the

British guardianship. It is the large immunity from the burdens of national defence which Egypt has enjoyed since the period of the re-conquest of the Sudan (1898). This immunity is to be attributed in some degree to the approval of England's mission by the Great Powers, and the general recognition of the fact that the prosperity of the country itself, scarcely less than the security of the Suez Canal, is a common benefit to the civilised world. But it is due more immediately to the knowledge that the land and sea forces of the British Empire are available, just as much for the protection of Egypt, as for that of any member of the Empire itself.

As the result of this immunity, Egypt is required to withdraw only a very small proportion of its man-power for military service, and spends only a fraction of its revenue upon defence. This very material advantage it shares with the oversea Dominions; and as in their case, so in the case of Egypt, equity requires that at no distant date its people should relieve the taxpayers of the United Kingdom of some part of the cost of the British Navy.

The task of making the Egyptians able to govern and defend themselves—the object of the Occupation—lies, therefore, in the future. It has scarcely been begun; and to realise the wide gulf between Egypt under British administration

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The right to maintain a navy has not been conferred upon the Khedive. In other respects the suzerainty of Turkey can scarcely be considered a factor in the situation; since Turkey is not in a position to guarantee the safety of Egypt.

and Egypt under Turco-Egyptian administration is essential to any understanding of the conditions which govern the future destiny of Egypt. The material circumstances of Egypt have been changed, and thereby the foundations have been laid for the social and political development of the people. The remaining chapters will be occupied with an examination of the main lines upon which this development may be expected to proceed, and of the conditions essential to its success.

## CHAPTER VII

#### FIRST LESSONS IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

In endeavouring to form any conception of the future destiny of Egypt, the first question to arise is: whether, within a measurable period of years, there is any likelihood of the Egyptians becoming able to govern themselves? The only valid material for a reply to this question is such as can be found in an examination of the agencies calculated to bring about the result in question. Of these agencies the most powerful and direct is that which is constituted by the representative institutions introduced under the British control. The present chapter will be concerned, therefore, with the nature and working of these institutions.

# THE REORGANISATION OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

To begin with, we have two recent and important changes in the representative machinery originally established by the Organic Law of 1883—the grant of administrative powers to the Provincial Councils, and the creation of a more efficient and mainly elective representative chamber by the substitution of the present

Legislative Assembly for the original Legislative

Council and General Assembly.1

Legislative provision for the reconstruction of the Provincial Councils was made, after more than two years of discussion, by the law promulgated in June, 1909, and brought into operation on January 1, 1910. The changes in the composition of the Council comprise the election of two representatives from each Markaz, or sub-division of the province, by the village electors-delegate, and a corresponding increase of membership, the total number of the members of the several Councils now ranging from six to twenty. Under the new law, the Mudir, who, as before, is the ex-officio President of the Council, is the only official member; but provision is made for public servants to attend meetings of the Council and its Committees, at which matters connected with the work of their respective departments come up for discussion. Each Council is empowered to determine its time of meeting; but the President has a general power to summon meetings, and, when called upon by one-third of the members, must exercise this power.

Apart from an extension of their powers in various matters of village administration, the Councils are created local authorities for elementary vernacular and trade schools. That is to say, subject to the general control of the Ministry of Education, they can establish or take

<sup>1</sup>For the representative institutions originally established in accordance with Lord Dufferin's Report, see Chap. III., page 59.

over such schools, and encourage by grantsin-aid such existing schools of these classes as are prepared to submit to their regulations. Certain limited powers for the promotion of secondary education are also conferred upon them.

The financial powers of the reconstituted Councils are tentative and permissive; since any general scheme of local taxation is obstructed by the exemption from taxation of European residents under the Capitulations. The provisions of the Organic Law of 1883, under which the Councils, subject to the approval of the Government, may vote contributions for purposes of public utility within their respective provinces, were re-enacted; but this power is effectuated by the further provision, that the approval of the Government shall not be withheld so long as the contribution voted does not exceed an amount equal to 5 per cent. of the local assessment to land tax of the province.

The Councils have also a general power to make representations as to the needs of the province in respect of agriculture, irrigation, means of communication, public security, public health, and education. They may be consulted generally by Ministers and by the Mudir, and must be consulted upon many specified matters, of which the more important are: changes of administrative or judicial districts, the modification of village boundaries, the creation of local commissions for towns within the province, the local application of laws to towns and villages, the creation of light railways, and the annual

irrigation programmes of new works, clearances, and rotations.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE COUNCILS AS EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

In the first year of their existence the new Councils, in respect of which eighty-three elections of candidates had been held, raised a sum of £E.205,666 by temporary contributions, voted and imposed in accordance with Article 2 of the law (now incorporated into the new Organic Law of 1913). Their efforts were directed almost entirely to education; and, since the law provides that 70 per cent. of the total sum appropriated to this object must be allocated to elementary vernacular instruction in the Kuttabs and agricultural and trades' schools, they were occupied mainly with such schools. New Kuttabs and technical and agricultural schools, having a higher standard of instruction, were founded, and existing schools of these classes were taken over and improved. At the same time twenty-six Primary schools 2 were either founded, or taken over from various local institutions. Secondary and higher education was not touched, but most of the Councils decided to contribute out of their funds to works of public utility, such as the construction of hospitals, dispensaries, fire-engines, etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> The above account of the powers and duties of the Provincial Councils is based upon the Report for 1909, Cd. 5121, pp. 28, 29.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  I.e. giving elementary education on European lines, as against the vernacular schools.

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It is noticeable that the Councils, as education authorities, were confronted with a 'religious difficulty,' due to the existence of the Copts. The Mohammedans, it will be remembered, constitute 92 per cent., and the Copts little more than 6 per cent., of the total population: but the Coptic element is unevenly distributed, varying from 2 per cent. in certain parts of the Delta to over 20 per cent. in nine of the thirtyseven Markazes of Upper Egypt. And, owing to the higher average wealth of the Copts, it was found that the proportion of the education funds contributed by Coptic landowners varied from less than 3 per cent. in these districts of the Delta to over 30 per cent. in the Province of Assiut. In these circumstances a certain section of the Copts, feeling that their interests were subordinated to those of the Mohammedan majority, claimed that the Coptic community in each province should receive, and control, the proportion of the education funds which it contributed.

The difficulty was met by the adoption, on the part of the Councils, of the principles already applied in the management of the Government schools in respect of religious instruction. All the Councils' schools are open to Moslem and Copts, without distinction; and 'where a specified number of Copts ask for religious teaching, and there is a teacher competent to give it, he undertakes the task. If no such teacher exists in the school, priests are allowed to give instruction at special hours.' In the case of the Kuttabs, however, the arrangements were different; since

the Kuttabs were originally 'purely Mohammedan institutions, where boys were only taught to read and recite the Koran,' and the transformation of these Mosque schools into 'places of general elementary instruction was an entirely novel feature.'

It will help to make the position clear if I transcribe from my Egyptian notebook a description of a Kuttab, as it is when untouched by the reforming hand of the Ministry of Education.

'In the dim light was descried the schoolmaster (fikih) sitting cross-legged upon a mat, with two rows of tiny children ranged sideways in front of him, in the same attitude on the ground. The master himself was weaving a mat, and the boys and girls were plaiting straw, an occupation which both parties were able to combine with the business of education. This consisted, so far as the children were concerned, in the recital of passages from the Koran, in which they were repeatedly prompted by the master, accompanied by a more or less energetic swaying of their bodies from the hips backwards and forwards.'

While, therefore, the Kuttabs were to be open to Moslems and Copts alike, as a general rule there was to be no Christian religious teaching in them; but in villages, or groups of villages, where there was an appreciable Coptic population, a separate Kuttab was to be established for the Coptic children only, and in these Coptic Kuttabs Christian religious teaching was to be given. With these exceptions, the customary instruction

in the Koran was to be given in all Kuttabs, since the Koran was virtually the only piece of literature through which children (or adults) could be taught to read and write correctly the Arabic of Egypt-in other words, their mother tongue. At the same time it was arranged that the Coptic pupils were to be free to absent themselves from the classes in which the Koran was taught, without prejudice to their attendance at the other classes, if they so desired.

The law, as a whole, Sir Eldon Gorst described (in 1911) as 'certainly the most interesting reform that had been attempted in Egypt of late years;' and one, moreover, upon the success or failure of which, 'and the confidence or the reverse which the Councils might succeed in inspiring, must largely depend our future estimate of the national aptitude in the field of self-government.' And he added that it was the essence of the law 'that the Councils should be accorded the utmost freedom in certain specified matters, and should be left, as far as possible, to work out their own salvation, gaining experience from their mistakes.' 1

In 1912 the steps necessary to co-ordinate the activities of the Councils in the field of education with the work of the Ministry of Education were taken. The arrangements for this purpose, which were the outcome of negotiations conducted between the Ministry of the Interior and the Councils on the one hand and the

1 Report for 1919, Cd. 5633. Sir Eldon Gorst died in 1911, and his place as Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General was taken by Lord Kitchener in that year.

Ministry of Education on the other, were embodied in four heads of agreement:—

(1) The Provincial Councils to take charge of elementary (including agricultural, industrial, and commercial) education and also of primary education.

(2) The Provincial Councils to manage the Normal schools for training men teachers and women teachers for elementary schools for boys and girls.

(3) The Provincial Councils to hand over to the Ministry of Education the schools considered

to be above primary schools.

(4) The Ministry of Education to continue to make the inspection of educational establishments of all grades under the Provincial Councils.<sup>1</sup>

As the result of this agreement, the Ministry of Education is gradually withdrawing from the management of the elementary and primary schools, and is enabled to appropriate the funds thus economised to the further development of secondary and higher education. The Councils do not assume their full responsibilities under this head until the present year (1914), but the progress achieved up to the end of 1912 is sufficient to show that they are performing the duties of local education authorities with energy and success.

'At the end of 1912,' Lord Kitchener writes,<sup>2</sup> 'the Councils had under their control, either through direct management or through grants in aid, 847 elementary (vernacular) schools, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report for 1912 (written, of course, in 1913).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

which 47,088 boys and 5235 girls are receiving instruction; 12 elementary training colleges, in which are 679 men and 208 women; 18 industrial, agricultural, and commercial schools, with 2097 male pupils; and 76 higher primary schools, with 7749 boys and 1681 girls—making a total of 953 educational establishments, with 64,737 pupils, 57,613 of whom are male and 7124 female.

Moreover, the religious difficulty would seem to have been overcome. 'I note,' Lord Kitchener adds, 'that the percentage of Moslems and Copts receiving instruction in these establishments is 93 per cent. and 7 per cent., which almost exactly represents the proportions of the two elements in the population.'

#### THE COUNCILS AND PUBLIC WORKS

In the same year the collective expenditure of the Councils reached £E.289,609. Of this sum £E.240,746 was appropriated to education, and £E.48,863 to works of public utility. Of the total education expenditure, £E.21,445 was spent on administration; £E.138,854 on elementary vernacular, industrial, and agricultural schools; and £E.80,447 on primary education. In 1913, the (local taxation) funds of the Councils available for education were to be augmented by a grant of £E.100,000 from the Ministry of Education. And in this connection it should be added, that the Councils carried over at the end of 1912 a collective balance of £E.326,000. They had,

therefore, the necessary funds at their disposal for meeting the increased demands, consequent upon the expansion of their educational responsi-

bilities, which arose in the year 1913.

There is also evidence to show that the Councils are becoming alive to the need for local public works, other than educational institutions. In 1911, although a sum of £E.37,300 was voted for works of public utility, only £E.6000 were spent on such works. In 1912, the expenditure was £E.48,863, and the appropriations for the following year reached the considerable total of £E.91,000.

On this aspect of the work of the Councils, Lord Kitchener writes, 'The interest of the Councils in works of public utility has undoubtedly been stimulated by the measures they have taken, on the recommendation of the Government, to appoint committees in the Councils themselves, one to study public works, a second sanitary questions, and a third agricultural and commercial matters, on the lines of the educational committees which they had already established.'

The details which follow afford an insight into some of the special conditions of life in Egypt. An expenditure of £E.16,673, we read, has been incurred by the Councils in the installation of halakas (cotton markets); £E.24,000 was spent on sanitary schemes, amongst which is one for the instruction of barbers in elementary surgery, and the provision of medicine-chests for their use in villages. Permanent ophthalmic hospitals have been constructed in six towns; travelling hospitals of the same class have been instituted

in the province of Assiut, and six isolation hospitals for infectious diseases have been provided in various lesser towns. In Zifta and Kafr-el-Sheikh, ordinary hospitals have been established at a total cost of £E.9000. Dispensaries for children have been, or are being, provided in five towns; and lastly, a sum of £E.2268 has been spent in five provinces on the filling in of insanitary ponds.

In view of this increased expenditure, it is noticeable that in the same year (1912) arrangements were made for the inspection and audit of the accounts of the several Councils by the

Ministry of Finance.

Only two elements in the operations of the Councils, as thus passed in review, appeared unsatisfactory to Lord Kitchener. The sum (EE.21,445) appropriated to 'administration' in the educational expenditure of the Councils he deems to be 'somewhat beyond the necessary requirements.' The second is a matter of more importance, as revealing a defect which, if uncheeked, might prove a source of declining energy. 'I notice with som' concern,' he writes, 'that in certain Councils, notably those of Minia, Gharbia, and Behera, several of the councillors have not found it possible to attend more than a relatively small proportion of the sittings. As regards those councillors whose abstentions are due to no more serious causes than a flagging interest, or the fact that the study and execution of heavy and increasing programmes makes too great a call upon their leisure, I can only recommend them to surrender their places to others

able to give more undivided attention to duties which can but become more important and exacting as time goes on.'

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The second development of the representative institutions conferred in pursuance of Lord Dufferin's Report is even more recent than that brought about by the Provincial Councils Law of 1909. The New Organic and Electoral Laws, by which the changes in question are effected, were promulgated only on July 21, 1913; and at the time of writing they have not come into full operation. It is impossible, therefore, to do more than describe the nature of the changes themselves, and the purposes which they are intended to serve; since there is no evidence as yet upon which any estimate of their success or failure can be based.

## THE CREATION OF A (MAINLY) ELECTIVE CHAMBER

Put in the briefest form, the objects of the two laws are (1) to substitute for the hitherto existing General Assembly and Legislative Council a single representative chamber, styled the Legislative Assembly; (2) to endow this chamber with wider powers, a more ample membership, and a larger elective element than were possessed by the Legislative Council, which, in effect, it replaces; and (3) to establish a more efficient

system for the election both of the elective members of this new representative chamber, and of the members of the reconstituted Provincial Councils.

The manner in which the first of these objects is carried out is exhibited in the table below.

Table showing composition of the Dufferin chambers in comparison with that of the new Legislative Assembly:—

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.	GENERAL ASSEMBLY.	Legislative Assembly.		
14 Nominated Members  16 Elected Members	6 Ministers 30 Members of the Legislative Council 46 Elected Members.	6 Ministers.  17 Nominated Members.  66 Elected Members.  89		

As regards the second object, the composition of the Legislative Assembly, as against that of the Legislative Council, is improved, both in its elective and nominated elements. The elected element is not only relatively greater (two-thirds as against one-half), but it has been raised to a numerical strength (sixty-six) which provides one representative for (approximately) every 200,000 of population. The nominated element is directed to be appointed in such a manner that it will serve to secure the due representation

of minorities and interests not represented in the elected element. With this object in view, the new law provides that of the seventeen nominated members, while one is to be the President, and a second one of the two Vice-Presidents, of the Assembly, the remaining fifteen are to be selected in accordance with the table below:—

Copts							4
Bedwins							3
Merchants							2
Doctors							2
Engineers			٠				1
Representat	tives	10	general	or	religio	113	
educati	0:1						2
Representat	tives	of	municip	aliti	es.		1

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The increased influence to be possessed by the Legislative Assembly, as compared with the former Legislative Council, apart from the powers which it inherits from the General Assembly, is especially apparent in the closeness of the relationship into which it is brought with the Council of Ministers in the work of new legislation. Not only must every 'project of law' which affects the internal affairs of the country, and every regulation required to give effect to such legislation, be

<sup>1</sup> The second Vice-President must be elected by the Assembly from among the elected members. The text of the new laws is given in Cd. 6875.

submitted to the Assembly for discussion, but the procedure necessary to ensure that due consideration will be given to the conclusions resulting from this discussion is carefully defined.

The effect of the provisions on this head is to make it obligatory that any legislation proposed by the Government, in respect of which there is a conflict of opinion between it and the Assembly, shall be discussed publicly at least three times in the Assembly, and once form the subject of a conference between the Assembly, resolved into committee, and the Government, as represented by the Council of Ministers.

The first discussion follows the receipt of the draft legislation from the Government: the second follows its return, after the Government has rejected the amendments proposed by the Assembly, and given its reasons for so doing. If this second discussion leaves the Assembly still in disagreement with the Government, the conference takes place. If the conference fails to bring about an agreement, the further consideration of the matter is adjourned for fifteen days; and at the end of this period the proposed legislation, either in its original form or with such alterations as the Government may think fit, is submitted de novo to the Assembly.

In the event of no agreement being reached, the Government has power either to promulgate the law, with or without amendment, or to dissolve the Assembly. If the first alternative is adopted, the Government must furnish the

Assembly with its reasons for disregarding the opinions of this latter. In the second case, the proposed law is to be submitted, if possible, to the new Assembly in its first session. It will take precedence of all other business with the exception of the Budget, be regarded as a new legislative proposal, and be discussed with the

same procedure as before.

The Legislative Assembly can also initiate legislation, provided its proposals do not affect any of the laws of the constitution, or trench upon any of the subjects specially removed from its field of discussion. Any such proposal, however, must be submitted to the Council of Ministers, and approved by them before it can be brought forward for public discussion in the Assembly. If approved, the draft of the proposed legislation is to be returned, with or without amendment, to the Assembly to be dealt with in the ordinary manner. If, on the other hand, the Council of Ministers withholds its approval, it must notify the reasons of its disapproval to the Assembly; but, as no discussion of these reasons can take place, the Assembly can proceed no further in the matter.

While the Assembly has a general power to pass resolutions upon internal affairs of public interest, whether in response to questions or legislative proposals submitted to it for this purpose by the Government, or of its own motion, certain subjects which come under the category of 'internal affairs' are nevertheless included in the list of matters specifically forbidden to be discussed by it.

The subjects thus excepted from discussion, in any shape or form,1 by the Assembly are:-The service of the Civil List, of the Tribute, and of the Public Debt; and in general the charges and obligations arising out of the Law of Liquidation, or international agreements, as also questions concerning foreign Powers, and the relations of Egypt with them; questions relating to the nomination, promotion, transference, prosecution, or dismissal of an official, or of any person employed by the State; as also any other measure which concerns an official, or agent of the State, as an individual. With reference to the last group of excepted subjects, Lord Kitchener writes that this clause has been inserted in the new law, 'with a view to preventing personal attacks on individual officials, without, however, prohibiting discussion concerning public administration where there is no intention to make an onslaught on any particular official or Government agent.' And in this connection it may be added that the employment of the native Press as a vehicle for the satisfaction of personal animosities is an evil, which, as bearing upon the Nationalist movement, will be brought subsequently to the notice of the reader.

## THE NEW ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The third object, the improvement of the electoral system, is accomplished by the new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ne peuvent être l'objet d'aucune décision, discussion, observation ou vœu.' Art. 20 of the Organic Law, 1913.

Electoral Law. Under the original law, the clection of members of the Legislative Council was effected in three degrees:—(1) The electors (virtually all adult males, except foreigners) elected clectors - delegate; (2) the electors - delegate clected the members of the Provincial Councils; (3) the members of each of the fourteen Provincial Councils and two other bodies elected severally one of their own number to serve as one of the sixteen elective members of the

Legislative Council.

Under the new law the election of the sixty-six elective members of the Legislative Assembly is effected in two degrees, and the system is otherwise so altered as to make the members elected more directly representative of the general body of electors. Thus, while formerly each separate town, village, or district, irrespective of the number of its inhabitants, returned one electordelegate, and one only, now every group of fifty clectors throughout the country is entitled to clect one clector-delegate. The vote of the clector-delegate of an insignificant village, therefore, will no longer have the same value as that of the elector-delegate of a considerable town, such as Tanta or Assiut: since now these latter return an elector-delegate for every fifty electors. or (roughly) for every 250 of their inhabitants. And the further anomaly of the old system, which consisted in the circumstance that each Provincial Council, irrespective of the differences of area and population as between the several provinces, elected one member of the Legislative Council, is also removed by the elimination of

the third degree from elections to the Legislative Assembly.

The method of election now introduced, which contrasts thus favourably with the method of

the old electoral law, is as follows :-

(1) The whole country is divided into sixty-six electoral areas (circonscriptions), each of which contains approximately 200,000 inhabitants.

(2) Every group of fifty electors 1 elects one

elector-delegate.

(3) The (approximately) 800 electors-delegate, being in the proportion of 1 to every (say) 250 inhabitants of each of these electoral areas, respectively elect one of the sixty-six elective

members of the Legislative Assembly.

(4) The election is by absolute, not relative majority, with provision for a second ballot, if necessary; that is to say, if on the first ballot no candidate obtains an absolute majority of the votes east, in the week following a second ballot is held between the candidates who have secured the largest number of votes. On the second ballot the candidate who obtains a relative majority of the votes cast is elected.

Thus, to the principle of 'one man, one vote,' already introduced, is added an application of the complementary principle of 'one vote, one

value.'

<sup>1</sup>The electors are all male Egyptians, sujets locaur, being twenty years of age and not disqualified by conviction for crime, bankruptey, etc. (Articles 1 and 5 of Electoral Law). An elector can only vote once in the same election; if qualified in more than one place, he must select his electoral domicile (Articles 2 and 3).

The distribution of the sixty-six elective seats in the Assembly is as under:—

*Cairo	4	Charkia .	. 5	Assiut	5
*Alexandria	3	Galiubia .	3	Girga	4
Gharbia . '	7	Guiza	3	Kena	4
Menufia . !	5	Beni-Souef	2	Aswan	1
Dakalia .	5	Fayum .	3	*Port Said and	
Behera	5	Minia	4	Ismailia .	1
				*Suez	1
				*Damietta .	1

The towns are marked with an asterisk. The remaining names are those of the fourteen Provinces.

The new law also provides for the representation of minorities, since, as we have seen, fifteen out of the seventeen nominated members are directed to be chosen by the Government in such a manner as to assure a minimum representation in the Assembly to classes, or interests, which, in all probability, will not be represented at all, or only insufficiently represented, by members elected by a majority vote. As the result of this provision, whatever may be their fate at the polls, the Copts will always be assured of a minimum of four members, and other sections can similarly rely upon having the one or more members respectively assigned to them in the table quoted above.

## QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS AND PROCEDURE

Some other features of the representative system thus outlined merit attention. Among other changes in the qualifications of members of the new chamber, as against those of members of the formerly existing Legislative Council, the qualifying age has been raised from thirty to thirty-five years, and, while Government officials are ineligible as before, service as a Provincial Councillor is declared also to be incompatible with membership of the Legislative Assembly. The greater maturity of judgment promised by the first change is an appreciable consideration in a country new to representative institutions; and the second was deemed desirable chiefly in view of the circumstance, that during the greater part of the year the sessions of the various Councils in the provinces would be concurrent with that of the Assembly at Cairo.

The period for which the members of the Assembly are nominated or elected is six years; one-third (of both elements) is to be renewed by rotation every second year; 1 and a member cannot be removed (unless his seat is vacated under the provisions of the Electoral Law), except by a three-fourths majority of the members in session. The Government alone has power to dissolve the Assembly—i.e. by Khedivial decree, issued on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers-whereas, under the old Organic Law, the assent of the Council of Ministers was not specifically required; and, while the ordinary session is to last in each year from November 1, to the end of the following May, the Government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Provision is made for the first three partial renewals, which are fixed for January in 1916, 1918, and 1920. The particular members to be retired are to be determined by lot.

can convene an extraordinary session whenever

necessarv.

Neither the ordinary nor the extraordinary sessions of the Assembly can be concluded, however, until all the questions submitted to it by the Ministers have been disposed of. Ordinary sittings are directed to be held in public; but when the Assembly is in committee, or a conference between it and the Council of Ministers takes place, the proceedings are to be private.

The original Organic Law left uncertain what measures were, or were not, included under the term 'law,' and therefore to be submitted to the Legislative Council for its consideration before they could be promulgated. In the new law, the original provision on this head is reproduced and applied to the Legislative Assembly, but a clause has been added in which a 'law' (for the purposes of this provision) is defined to be 'toute disposition relative aux affaires intérieuses de l'Egypte et touchant à l'organisation des pouvoirs dans l'Etat, ou statuant par mesure générale sur les droits civils ou politiques de ses habitants, ainsi que tout décret portant règlement d'administration publique.' And a further clause specifically declares that all other measures (disposition) can be brought into effect by a decree promulgated by the Khedive on the advice of the Council of Ministers.

The general procedure for the discussion of the annual Budget is identical with that laid down for the consideration of fresh legislation submitted to the Assembly; but clauses which relate to any of the subjects forbidden to be discussed in the Assembly <sup>1</sup> are excepted from discussion, and in any case the Budget must be brought into effect by the Government <sup>2</sup> at least five days before the end of the financial year. In the event, however, of the Assembly remaining in disagreement with the Minister of Finance, up to the time when the Budget must thus be brought into effect, the Minister is to furnish the Assembly with a statement of his reasons for disregarding its advice within a month of the publication of the Budget.

#### DUTIES OF THE ELECTORS-DELEGATE

All primary electors, provided that they are at least thirty years of age, are eligible for election as electors-delegate; and the term for which these latter are elected is six years. A feature of special interest in the new Electoral Law is the provision which makes it obligatory upon an elector-delegate to put himself into touch with the fifty electors whom he represents, with a view of ascertaining which candidate, or candidates, the majority of them prefer, whenever an election of a member of the Legislative Assembly is about to take place. The proper observance of this duty is enforced by an earlier Article (13, par. 4), which provides that whenever an election to a vacancy in the Assembly or one of the Provincial Councils occurs, any elector-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See above, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> By Khedivial decree.

delegate, if a majority of the fifty electors whom he represents make a demand in writing to this effect, must submit to a fresh election for the purpose of determining whether he is to be replaced or maintained in office. The purpose which these provisions are intended to serve is to stimulate the Egyptian people, as a whole, to take an intelligent interest in public affairs; and this feature of the new representative system, as we shall have occasion to notice subsequently, is one which has a significant bearing upon the question of Egyptian Nationalism.

#### PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The new laws also effect a further improvement in the constitution and method of election of the Provincial Councils. The amendments introduced into the old Organic Law by the Provincial Councils Law of 1909 are embodied in the new Organic and Electoral Laws, and the provisions of the latter, which define the method of election of members of the Legislative Assembly, are applied en bloc to the election of members of the Provincial Councils. The same electors-delegate, therefore, each representative of a group of fifty primary electors, will elect the members of the Provincial Councils (two for each Markaz) as

<sup>1</sup>The requisition must be sent to the Mudir of a Province, or the Governor of a Gouvernorat, at least one month before the date of the election in question.

elect the (elective) members of the Assembly, and a second ballot must be held now in the event of no candidate for a Provincial Council obtaining

an absolute majority on the first ballot.

The remaining changes, with one exception, are intended to secure efficiency on the part of the individual councillors. Thus the new laws specifically forbid any member of a Council to serve on more than one Council at the same time : and provision is made for the dismissal of an unsatisfactory councillor by the Government, if this course is required, by a three-fourths majority of the members of the Council, and for the automatic discharge of a member who is absent from three consecutive sessions without being able to plead in excuse reasons deemed by the Council to be sufficient. The exception mentioned above is the reduction of the term of office from six to four years.

The purpose of this change was merely to make the dates of the Provincial Council elections coincide with those of the Legislative Assembly. As one-half of the members of a Provincial Council retire by rotation, with a six years' period of office the elections took place every three years; they will now take place every two years, and thus coincide with the elections to the Assembly, where, it will be remembered, the members serve for six years, and retire by proportions of one-third every second year.

To what extent this scheme of representation is destined to hasten the attainment by the Egyptian people at large of the qualities necessary for self-government, time and experience of the

actual working of the new Organic and Electoral Laws alone can show. It will be admitted generally, however, that none better adapted to satisfy the special conditions of the country and its inhabitants could well have been devised, and that the scheme itself, in originality of method and completeness of design, is a piece of constructive statesmanship that reflects credit upon the administrative ability of Lord Kitchener and all who are associated with him in the government of Egypt.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CAPITULATIONS

In addition to the reorganised Provincial Councils, the machinery for local self-government gradually provided since the date of the Dufferin Constitution (1883) includes the municipalities and the partly elective Councils established in the towns.

The importance of local self-government as an agency in the regeneration of the Egyptian people has been recognised from the first by British statesmen. In recommending the establishment of the Provincial Councils, Lord Dufferin gave effect to the conviction expressed in his Report, that 'local self-government is the fittest preparation and most convenient stepping-stone for anything approaching to a constitutional régime.' The belief was held no less firmly by Lord Cromer. But in endeavouring to put it into practice, when once a condition of financial equilibrium

had been reached by the Egyptian Government, he was met by the barrier of the Capitulations.

The extra-territoriality of the European section of the population, and their consequent exemption from direct taxation, imposed such restrictions upon the application of the principle of local self-government to the towns, that the limited system, which it was found possible ultimately to establish, could be expected to fulfil only in a very slight degree the educative purpose which gave the system, as a system, its special value in the eyes of Lord Dufferin.

The Capitulations, however, interfered less directly with the working of local self-government in the country districts; since the Europeans lived almost exclusively in the towns, and all towns sufficiently large or important to have a local authority of their own were expressly excluded from the administrative areas of the Provincial Councils. The development of local self-government in the country districts, which was effected by the reorganisation of the Dufferin Provincial Councils by Sir Eldon Gorst in 1909, was recognised, therefore, by Lord Cromer as feasible and desirable.

None the less, the obstructive influence of the Capitulations was felt in the constitution of the Provincial Councils; since, as we have seen, the Central Government, having no power itself to tax European residents, could not enable the Councils to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of the province, as a whole, and therefore gave them authority to 'vote temporary contributions' (voter les contributions temporaires), the payment of which depends upon the willingness of the individual to recognise the obligation, thus laid upon him, to contribute his share to the cost of the schools and other works of public utility to

which this local revenue is applied.

European privilege, in the form of the Capitulations, is therefore largely responsible for the relatively slow growth of local government institutions in Egypt, and for the fact that the urban local bodies, although they have been established from 1896 onwards in increasing numbers, are so little capable of acting collectively as an agency for the development of the faculty of self-government among the mass of the Egyptian townsmen. It also accounts directly for the special nomenclature and limited constitutions of the Councils themselves.

Reserving Cairo and Alexandria—in each of which the methods of city government are exceptional—for subsequent consideration, at the end of 1912 there were in operation forty-five urban local bodies, of which thirteen are styled Mixed Commissions (or Municipalities) and thirty-

two Local Commissions.

### MIXED AND LOCAL COMMISSIONS

The Mixed Commissions, as a rule, consist of the Mudir, as President, and eight elected members, of whom four are Europeans and four Egyptians. The qualifications necessary for election as a Mixed Commissioner are (1) possession of real property of the value of not less than £E.500, or membership of a liberal profession, or the tenure of a commercial position of responsibility; and (2) ability to read and write. The qualifications which carry a right to vote for the election of a Mixed Commissioner are (1) to have attained the age of twenty-five years; (2) to pay house-tax at the rate of at least £E.2 a year, or to occupy a dwelling, the annual rental of which is assessed at £E.24 a year or upwards; and (3) acceptance of the obligation to pay the voluntary taxes imposed by the Commission.

The sources from which the revenue of the Mixed Commissions is derived are (1) the proceeds of municipal services (if any) and of the Tanzim service (dealing with streets, roads, building regulations, etc.), and slaughter-house dues; (2) the voluntary taxes established for the needs of the town by the Commission; and (3) subventions from the Government, consisting of (a) one-half of the annual proceeds of the house-tax in the respective towns, and (b) annual grants of a fixed amount. The Mixed Commissions have also a limited power to borrow funds from the Government for purposes of which it approves.

The Local Commissions are established in towns where no voluntary taxes are imposed. They consist of the Mudir, as President, and three ex officio and four elected members. The former are inspectors respectively of the Public Health Department, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Public Works: the latter are elected by persons possessed of the same qualifications as are required of electors in the case of

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the Mixed Commissions, with the exception that no undertaking to submit to voluntary taxation is necessary. All such electors may seek election to the Local Commission. The revenue of the Local Commissions is provided almost entirely by the half of the house-tax and other Government subventions, since, in the absence of voluntary taxation, the only local revenue is that derived from the proceeds of the Tanzim service and the slaughter-house dues, and from municipal services such as water and light supplies, where such works have been carried out.

The proportion borne by the Government subsidies to the total revenue of these urban councils differs materially as between the Mixed Commissions, or Municipalities, and the Local Commissions. While the former derive approximately one-fourth of their collective revenue from the Central Government, nearly two-thirds of the expenditure of the latter is met by Government. The Local Commissions, therefore, as the name implies, remain to a large extent mere agencies for the expenditure of so much of the public funds as the Government can appropriate to the improvement of the lesser towns. The estimated receipts of the two classes of Commissions from both sources in 1913 are shown in the table below :-

	Sub-	Local	
	vention	Receipts.	Total.
	£E.	£E.	£E.
13 Mixed Commissions or Municipalities	52,649	137,183	189,832
32 Local Commissions	57,741	41,537	99,278

The working of these Urban Councils has been carefully watched by Lord Cromer and his successors. The fact that new Commissions are being established from year to year is evidence of their utility as administrative bodies; but, as before noticed, they cannot be relied upon as yet to assist materially in preparing the Egyptian people for self-government.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first place, the Commissions have a preponderant official element, consisting either of Europeans or of Egyptians who have assimilated European ideas, while even the elective element is largely made up of Europeans. The recently established (1911) municipality, or Mixed Commission, of Port Said will serve to illustrate the point. Its composition is as follows:—(a) Five ex-officio members, being the Governor of the Canal, the Medical Officer of Health, the Director of Customs, and two representatives of the Suez Canal Company; and (b) eleven elected members, of whom five are native Egyptians, five Europeans, and one is a representative of the shipping companies. That is to say, out of sixteen members only five are Egyptians; while of the European elective members only one may be taken from any single nationality.

In the second place, until the Capitulations are modified or abolished, the Commissions cannot acquire the financial powers necessary for effective local self-government. Even in the Mixed Commissions, or Municipalities, Sir Eldon Gorst wrote in 1911, where the inhabitants take a greater interest in the town affairs and in the improvement of the

local conditions, 'the drawback to the present system is that taxation is purely voluntary, and a bad citizen can therefore escape payment of all taxes, whilst continuing to benefit by the town improvements. It is very desirable that Mixed Commissions should obtain a general power of taxation over all inhabitants,'

#### CAIRO AND ALEXANDRIA

A separate provision has been made for the administration of each of the two great towns of Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria. The problems presented by the former, as being the seat of Government and the most populous city in the continent of Africa, were so complex that it was rightly held, that under the political conditions of the first twenty-five years of the British control they could only be handled satisfactorily by the Central Government.

The latter being in effect a European town with a large native population, and resembling in this respect the more important towns of South Africa, after protracted and difficult negotiations with the fifteen Powers having Capitulations, was endowed with municipal institutions in 1890. The municipality of Alexandria, thus created by international agreement, has a general power of taxation, and in this and other respects is the only fully developed institution of the kind in Egypt.

The annual revenue has risen from £E.54,000 in 1890 to £E.325,000 in 1913, when the estimated expenditure was £E.316,000. In the preceding

year the consent of the Powers was obtained to the issue of a loan of £E.500,000 to be expended upon the improvement of the harbour accommodation and drainage; and to meet the interest on this loan, and for further municipal works, new sources of revenue are required. Certain irregularities, alleged to have been committed by officers of the municipality, were investigated by a Government Commission of Inquiry in the early part of 1912; and, as the result of the unsatisfactory state of affairs thus disclosed, certain. officials were dismissed or otherwise punished. At the same time, the necessary steps were taken to improve gradually, and under competent supervision, the administrative methods of the municipality.

It is only within recent years that, in pursuance of the recommendations of a committee appointed to study the question, a central authority, styled the Cairo City Service, has been created for the administration of the municipal services of the capital. Prior to 1910 these services were carried out by three different departments. Thus, the construction and maintenance of roads, the framing of building regulations, and the lighting of the town were managed by the Public Works Department; the watering and scavenging of the streets were undertaken by the Public Health Department, and licences for the temporary occupation of the public ways were issued by the

Gouvernorat of Cairo.

With the institution of the Cairo City Service, increased efficiency and economy were secured, and in 1910 the total expenditure of this authority

on works of administration and maintenance, including public lighting and the upkeep of roads and public gardens, was £E.122,000. In the preceding years (1908-1909) two important schemes of improvement, for which Cairo had long been waiting, were settled and commenced—the provision of an adequate and wholesome water supply and the construction of an efficient system of drainage with water-borne sewerage.

The first of these, which was commenced after the fullest experiment and investigation, 1 was brought into operation in June, 1912; and it is expected that the entire system of drainage will be completed by the end of 1914. The necessary funds for this difficult and costly undertaking have been advanced by the Government; but in order to provide for the annual charges upon the loans the Cairo house-tax was raised from 8 to 10 per cent. This latter measure, which could not be taken until the consent of all the Powers had been secured, was brought into effect in 1909; and up to March, 1913, a total sum of £E.767,000 had been expended upon these drainage works. It is believed that the system will satisfy all modern sanitary requirements, and that when it is brought into operation Cairo will take rank as one of the healthiest towns in the world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the end the wells in the Rod-el-Farag district, north of the city, were abandoned, and a return was made to the Nile as the source of supply. The intake is properly protected, and a system of filtration, which satisfies all bacteriological tests, has been installed.

# CHAPTER VIII

## ECONOMIC TIES WITH BRITAIN

THE rapid development of the material resources of any country is always of interest; but in the case of Egypt there is the added significance of the fact that the character of this development, and the circumstances and conditions of its accomplishment, are such as to make the newfound prosperity of her people directly dependent upon the maintenance of a close relationship with the industrial and political system of which Great Britain is the centre.

The aspects of the material development of Egypt, thus regarded, which demand attention may be grouped under the three heads of (1) water supply, (2) cotton cultivation, and (3) external

trade.

## WATER SUPPLY

The all-important part played by the River Nile has been emphasised more than once in the preceding pages as the salient fact in the economic life of Egypt. The vast works which have been constructed by British engineers for the conservation and distribution of its waters have been briefly described; and the general improvement of the ancillary systems of irrigation and drainage has been noticed. The results of the great increase in the volume of Nile water, thus secured for the fertilisation of the soil, have been indicated. The old areas have been provided with a more ample and more assured supply. The conversion of half a million acres in Upper Egypt from basin to perennial irrigation has enabled the cultivators to grow the more valuable crops of cotton and sugar in conjunction with clover and rice, and to reap two harvests in the year, where before they reaped only one. And, finally, the cultivated area of the country, as a whole, has been enlarged already by an accession of fresh land equal to one-fourth of the cultivated area of thirty years ago; while its extent is being still further augmented by the reclamation of new or abandoned tracts in the Delta.

### THE UNITY OF THE NILE VALLEY

With all this, as being an essential part of the work of economic regeneration already accomplished, the reader is familiar. What we have to notice now is that the plans of the British engineers and administrators do not stop here. With the reconquest of the Sudan and its gradual opening up to economic progress under the settled government of the condominium, the scope of their operations has been extended beyond the frontier of Egypt, and their present designs for increasing and further assuring its water supply are based upon the assumption that the unity of the Nile valley has become

not merely a geographical but an economic and political fact.

And there is reason for this belief; since, if we except the head waters of the Blue Nile and the Atbara, the source-reservoirs of the Nile in Uganda, its western tributaries in the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Darfur, and its main stream in the Sudan and in Egypt, are all under the effective control of one Power—Great Britain.

From 1899 onwards, therefore, efforts have been made to increase the volume of the waters discharged by the Nile in Egypt by operations for deepening, clearing of obstructions, and otherwise improving its main channels in the southern Sudan; and now, in order to regulate and, if necessary, store its waters, a great dam is to be built across the river, at a point above the confluence of the White and Blue Niles, some forty miles south of Khartum. The aim of the completed system is to provide a supply of Nile water which will suffice for the irrigation needs both of Egypt and the Sudan—a supply so abundant that each country can take its due share without injury to the other.

The first of these measures of common benefit was the removal from the streams of the Upper Nile and its western tributaries of the sudd, or water-weeds, etc., which had collected during the Mahdist usurpation in such quantities that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> One of the two immediate objects for which the Uganda Railway was constructed by the Imperial Government was to secure command of the source and head-waters of the Nile. The second was the suppression of the slave trade.

the flow of these streams was cheeked, and the river itself, here known as the Bahr-el-Gebel, was closed to navigation. The effect of the removal of the sudd, which was successfully accomplished in the first few years of the reoccupation of the Sudan, was not, indeed, to increase the water supply of Egypt (since the Sobat, the Blue Nile, and the Atbara are 'the ruling factors in the production of the annual Nile flood'), by opening the Upper Nile again to navigation, to make it possible to set about another operation which was calculated directly to produce this result.

To understand the nature of this second operation, it must be remembered that the Upper Nile flows northward from Lake Albert Nyanza to Lake No, which latter is some 610 miles south of Khartum. Between these two lakes it passes through a region of swamps, extending roughly from the Uganda border to the latitude of Lake No; and in this region it spreads its current so widely that in each year a volume of water, estimated <sup>2</sup> at 12,175,000,000 cubic metres, was lost by rapid evaporation.

What was wanted, Sir William Garstin wrote in 1899,3 was 'that the lost river should be formed artificially into a river again by regulating its section and augmenting its velocity and its discharge.' This could only be done by 'preventing it from spilling over into the different side-channels and marshes, and confining its volume to one main artery.' And, if this were

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Garstin's Report on the Sudan (1899).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

possible, 'the immense amount of water annually lost by evaporation, etc., would flow steadily to the north in a single stream, and the summer supply of Egypt be increased by the amount thus gained.' The opening of the Bahr-el-Gebel to navigation would permit of the examination of the river and the surrounding swamps; but such a study, he pointed out in a later Report, would involve necessarily 'much time, and the works, if ever carried out, might cost considerable sums of money.'

At this date—and in a lessening degree, up to the year 1912-the Sudan Government was dependent upon Egypt for the greater part of the funds necessary to carry on the administration; and it was not until some years later that its finances allowed of the establishment of an independent irrigation service. By 1910, however, the Sudan Irrigation Service had secured a sufficient basis of information to enable its Inspector-General to lay down the main lines upon which the irrigation problems of the country could be solved. And it is upon the successful execution of the measures thus outlined that the future development of the Sudan, and the further enlargement of the cultivated area of Egypt, alike depend.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUDAN

The first of these problems, which is that indicated by Sir William Garstin—or, as Mr. Tottenham, the Inspector-General of the Sudan

Irrigation, phrases it,1 'to rescue the waters of the Upper Nile from the marshes of the Southern Sudan'—is to be accomplished by remodelling and embanking the Bahr-el-Gebel and the Bahr-el-Zeraf, and deepening their channels by dredging. Of these two rivers, the first is the main stream of the Upper Nile, and the second Sir William Garstin's 'lost river,' the direct northward channel which avoids the westward sweep of the Bahr-el-Gebel from Shambah to Lake No.

As the result of these operations it is believed that the volume of the White Nile will be increased by 50 per cent. The second problem is 'how and where to introduce artificial irrigation into the fertile tracts' of the country. Both the solution of this problem, and the settlement of the question of the distribution of the volume of the Nile as between the Sudan and Egypt, are rendered the more possible by the circumstance that the Egyptian Sudan, unlike Egypt itself, is by no means a rainless country as a whole. On the contrary, a considerable area of the Sudan has an annual rainfall of from twenty to forty inches, while over a still larger area there falls from ten to twenty inches of rain in the year. On this point Mr. Tottenham writes:-1

'Everything goes to show that throughout the major portion of the country water is not required during those months of the year when the river's supply is shortest and Egypt's difficulties are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report quoted in the Annual Report on Egypt and the Sudan in 1910.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

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greatest, and that, except in the neighbourhood of Khartum and northwards, the crops the Sudan requires to produce can be grown in the flood and winter months of the year, *i.e.* between July 15 and March 1, between which dates the Egyptian Government makes no restrictions.' 1

### IRRIGATION PROJECTS

In the immediate future, therefore, active progress in the work of supplying the most fertile areas of the Sudan with water for irrigation may be expected. In the Province of Dongola, 150,000 feddans (acres) are to be brought under basin irrigation, and when Kassala is opened up by railway communication, it is proposed in this province to construct works on the river Gash which will render it capable of supplying water sufficient to irrigate 200,000 feddans on the same system. In the country lying east of the Blue Nile and traversed by the Atbara, it is believed that 12,000,000 feddans, all, or almost all, capable of bearing cotton crops, can be irrigated artificially, provided that these rivers can yield the necessary water supply without injury to the interests of Egypt, and the required expenditure is warranted by growth of population.

Surveys have shown that the construction of a barrage on the Rahad, near Id Fama, would

<sup>1</sup> Prior to the raising of the Aswan Dam, the Sudan was allowed only sufficient water for irrigating 10,000 feddans between these dates. It is understood that the amount has been increased now to a supply for 20,000 feddans.

permit of a volume of flood water being drawn from it by a canal, sufficient to irrigate an area of 140,000 feddans lying between that river and the Dinder. An addition of 60,000 feddans is to be made to the partially irrigated cotton area in the district of Tokar, in the Red Sea Province, by the construction of works which will secure the control of the flood waters of the Khor Banaka.

Of all these projects, however, the most important is the creation of an irrigation system to serve the area of 5,000,000 feddans of fertile land, which lies southward of Khartum, in the fork of the White and Blue Niles, and is known as the Gezira (island) Plain. The cost of the works necessary for the irrigation of 500,000 to 1,000,000 feddans of this area is estimated at £3,000,000, and the works themselves include: (1) A dam on the Blue Nile at Sennar; (2) a canal, fed by the flood water held up by the dam. and itself feeding the distributing canals in its southward course of 100 miles; and (3) a reservoir to be created by the construction of a barrage across the White Nile at a point near its junction with the Blue Nile, and therefore a little south of Khartum.

This latter is intended to fulfil three objects. It will increase the water supply provided by the White Nile to an extent sufficient to compensate for the loss in the volume of the Blue Nile caused by the irrigation of the Gezira Plain; it will augment Egypt's water supply in the period of low Nile; and, by helping to bring under control the Nile's flood in the months of September and

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November, it will lessen materially Egypt's risk of inundation in a year of abnormally high Nile.

The funds for carrying out the most pressing of these irrigation projects, and other works necessary for the development of the country, have been provided by the action of the Imperial Government in consenting to guarantee the interest, at a rate not exceeding 31 per cent. per annum, upon a loan of £3,000,000 to be raised by the Sudan Government. It is understood that this sum will be appropriated to the Gezira, Tokar, and Kassala irrigation schemes, and to the construction of new railways; and that it is only an instalment of a capital expenditure of £10,000,000 which will be required within the next fifteen years. The provisional allocations for the full programme of development works are believed to be as under :-

The irrigation and development of				
the Gezira Plain	£4,000,000			
Minor Irrigation Works on the				
Gezira Plain	£500,000			
The White Nile Dam	£700,000			
Irrigation Works at Tokar	£200,000			
Irrigation Works at Kassala .	£700,000			
Irrigation Works at Dongola .	£200,000			
Irrigation Works in the Valley of				
the Dirder	£400,000			
Railway Construction	£3,200,000			
Contingencies	£100,000			
	£10.000.000			

#### GROWTH OF POPULATION AND INDUSTRIES

The belief, that the economic prospects of the Sudan justify so large an expenditure from loan funds in the near future, is based upon the record of the progress achieved since the re-occupation of the country in 1898. Prior to the rise of the Mahdi the Egyptian Sudan had a population of 8,500,000 and a 'considerable' trade; and in 1882 it yielded a revenue of approximately £E.500,000 against an expenditure of £E.600,000 on the part of the Egyptian Government. During the period of Dervish usurpation the population fell by disease and war to approximately 1,750,000, and the revenue collected by the Anglo-Egyptian authorities in 1898 was £E.35,000. The character of the advance secured under British administration can be presented in a few sentences.

Between the years 1899 and 1912, the population had risen from 1,750,000 to 'well over 3,000,000,' the revenue from £E.127,000 to £1,424,000, the mileage of railways open to traffic from 400 to 1500, and the annual value of the produce exported from £E.150,000 to £E.1,376,958. The annual subventions from the Egyptian Treasury, hitherto necessary to enable the Sudan Government to meet the ordinary costs of administration, ceased in 1913; 1 and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These annual subventions have fallen gradually from £E.439,800 in 1899 to £E.335,000 in 1912. It was then decided that the subvention should be discontinued, but that the Egyptian Government should no longer take the

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by 1917 it is expected that the population will have risen to a total of 6,000,000.

Indeed, the delay in the execution of these large schemes of irrigation has been in part intentional. In the first place, the construction of railways, funds for which were advanced by the Egyptian Government, was necessary to cheapen the carriage of the materials required for the actual works, to bring the produce of the

duties on goods imported through Egypt into the Sudan. The net subvention paid by Egypt to the Sudan for civil purposes in 1912 was £E.163,000. The value of the duties to be repaid to the Sudan was then £E.85.000. The net gain to the Egyptian Treasury in 1913, was, therefore, approximately £E.78.000. The balance of the total subvention (£E.335,000) consisted of the cost of that portion of the Egyptian army which was maintained in the Sudan. This cost was debited to the Sudan Government and paid back by the latter to Egypt, the amount nominally paid on this account in 1912 being £E.172,000. This item, the 'military' subvention, now disappears from the Sudan Budget, and is included in the Egyptian Budget under the head of military expenditure. The change is merely a matter of accounting, since Egypt, as before, continues to bear the cost of the maintenance of the Egyptian troops in the Sudan. Apart from these annual subventions, amounting in the aggregate to over £E.5,000,000, Egypt has advanced, up to 1912, a further £E.5,000,000 to the Sudan for capital expenditure on development works. The justification for this action, from the point of view of Egypt, is to be found in the consideration that the expenditure in question was intended to promote such a development of the resources of the Sudan as would enable her to dispense at an early date with the Egyptian subsidy. This point has now been reached.

irrigated areas to market, and generally to open up the country. In the second, it was felt that, as the cost of the reconquest and early administration of the Sudan had been borne by Egypt, nothing ought to be done by the Government of the former to injure the material interests of the latter; and that in particular, Egypt, in Lord Cromer's words, had a first call upon the waters of the Nile, whether in the Sudan or within her own borders.

Now, however, it is believed that the knowledge of the whole system of the Upper Nile, and its eastern and western tributaries, obtained by the Sudan Irrigation Service will enable the proposed development of artificial irrigation in the Sudan to be carried out without any violation of Lord Cromer's principle.

## EGYPT'S WATER SUPPLY

The manner in which Egypt is likely to be affected by this development, and the question of the adequacy of her present water supply in view of the large additions made, and being made, to her cultivated area, have been considered by Lord Kitchener and his advisers. Their calculations indicate that the construction of the dam on the White Nile will not only suffice to maintain the present volume of the Egyptian Nile, but materially assist in providing Egypt with an increase of water supply commensurate with the growth of her population and industries.

If, then, these large additional areas in Egypt,

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Lord Kitchener writes, 'are to be taken into cultivation, it is evident that provision will have to be made for their adequate irrigation, not only in normal, but in very low years. We have also to consider the very important question of protecting Egypt from the disastrous effects of abnormally high floods. When these occur there is constant danger that the river will either overflow or break through the safety banks which protect the greater part of the country.

'Such disasters have taken place in the past, but in those times the land under crop and the population were comparatively restricted. Any extensive inundations at the present date would cause infinitely more damage and loss of life. To prevent such a catastrophe, and to provide at the same time the necessary water for extended areas of cultivation in years of low summer Niles, it is proposed to erect a dam on the White Nile, about forty miles above Khartum, so that in case of dangerously high floods the White Nile supply may be temporarily cut off and stored for use in Egypt in the following summer. . . .

'The general conclusions at which I have arrived are: (1) that the necessary supply of irrigation water for the present greatly extended area of cultivation is assured; (2) that sufficient water for all probable extension in the Delta during the next fifteen years is also assured, except in the event of a very low summer river; (3) that, as it is advisable to allow some extension of perennial cultivation in Upper Egypt and to meet the demands for water for extended cultivation in the Delta in years of low supply,

fresh works will be necessary to increase the quantity available for distribution. The proposed dam on the White Nile will, it is expected, be

sufficient for this purpose.' 1

This vast and complex system of water supply and irrigation, vital alike to the present prosperity of Egypt and the future development of the Sudan, is the work of England. The same Power, holding the Sudan and the head waters of the Nile, guards and controls it. It is England's to maintain or destroy.

#### COTTON

Among the many signs of the reality of the progress of the Sudan, the revival of cotton growing is perhaps the most significant; and in Egypt, as we know, cotton contributes three-fourths of the total export. The present large production of cotton in Egypt, and the prospect of a still larger production of cotton in the Sudan, constitute an economic tie between England and the Nile Valley which is of the first importance.

Egypt and the Sudan can produce a raw material which feeds one of England's greatest industries; and England's power to purchase this material assures to the cultivators a profitable livelihood, and to the communities, as a whole, the power to purchase, on their part, the machinery, rails, steel girders, and other 'plant' necessary for the development of their industries, and all the many articles of foreign manufacture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Report for 1912 (Cd. 6682). Dated March 22, 1913.

which minister to their comfort or satisfy their needs.

But the interest of England in the production of cotton in the Nile Valley is not merely that which exists between her, as a great manufacturing country, and any one or other of the newly developed and mainly agricultural countries from which she draws a part of her supply of raw materials. To begin with, more than half of the entire Egyptian cotton export is taken by the United Kingdom. In 1912, whereas the value of the raw cotton purchased from Egypt by the United States was £E.4,072,150, and France, Germany, and Russia each purchased to the value of slightly over £E.2,000,000, the United Kingdom took £E.12,572,150 worth of raw cotton, nearly all the export of cotton-seed cake, and the largest share of the cotton-seed exported.

The reason for this large demand for Egyptian cotton on the part of British manufacturers is to be found in the circumstance that the long stapled, fine-grade cotton, peculiar to Egypt, as against the coarser cotton of America, is used much more largely in Great Britain than elsewhere. According to the returns furnished by the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners, whose delegates visited Egypt in October, 1912, out of a total of 19,604,824 spindles fed by Egyptian cotton, no less than 13,256,816 were at work in Great Britain.

The effect of this consideration is enhanced by the facts that cotton can be grown only under certain well-defined climatic and other conditions, and that in recent years the consumption has

shown signs of overtaking the supply. In particular, the United States, a country from which Great Britain draws her main supply of cotton, is rapidly developing her cotton-spinning and other textile industries, while at the same time her production of long-staple cotton has been reduced-mainly through the attacks of the boll-worm. Both of these facts are revealed in the statistics of the Cotton Federation. As between the seasons 1906-1907 and 1911-1912 the world's consumption of raw cotton has increased in round numbers, from fifteen to eighteen million bales; and out of a total of 142 million spindles at work in 1912, while Great Britain stood first with fifty-five and a half millions, the United States had risen rapidly to the second place with over thirty millions.

### COTTON GROWING IN THE SUDAN

As the result of this position, not only is the extension of cotton production in Egypt and the Sudan a matter of special concern to the Lancashire mill-owners, but they and the cottonspinners of other nations have been looking round anxiously for fresh sources of supply. Cotton is produced in India, in East and West Africa, and elsewhere within the Empire; in Northern Rhodesia active steps are being taken to promote the development of cotton cultivation; and there is in the Transvaal a large area upon which suitable varieties of American cotton can be grown, so far as soil and climate is concerned.

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with better results of yield and quality than are

obtained on the parent plantations.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an organisation—The British Cotton-Growing Association—should have been formed recently for the purpose of promoting the production of raw cotton within the Empire, and of thus making the British cotton-spinners independent, if necessary, of the American supplies. Thus, in view of the general demand for cotton, and the special demand of Lancashire for Egyptian cotton, the prospect of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan becoming a great cotton-producing country creates a new and powerful tie between England and the Nile Valley.

In estimating the nature of this prospect it must be remembered that cotton is an indigenous product of the country, and that the Sudanese native possesses an inherited aptitude for its cultivation. Apart from the grain-growing capacity of certain districts, the production of cotton 'sufficient for local consumption' in the districts of Berber, Sennar, Kassala, and Gedaref, is mentioned by Colonel Stewart in his Report on the Trade, etc., of the Sudan in 1882-1883.

The experimental plantations established by the present Government, and the recently issued Reports of the British Cotton-Growing Association and the International Federation, leave little reason to doubt the success of scientific methods of cotton cultivation. At the same time, the irrigation authorities of Egypt and the Sudan are satisfied that the irrigation systems necessary

<sup>1</sup> Egypt, No. 11, (1883).

to serve the cotton areas of the Sudan can be provided without injuriously affecting the water supply of Egypt; since 'cotton and the leguminous winter crop, with which it must be alternated, can be successfully matured during the period (July 15 to March 1) in which Egypt's

supply is in excess of its requirements.'

The annual cotton production of the Sudan already amounts to (approximately) 80,000 kantars; and in 1911, in spite of a bad season, cotton and cotton-seed to the value of £E.267,339 were exported. Of this amount more than half is grown in the district of Tokar, on some 40,000 aeres of land partially irrigated by the flood waters of the Khor Banaka; and the Tokar cotton industry is being developed and controlled by the Government.

The quality of the cotton has been improved greatly by prohibiting the use of any seed other than the best Egyptian (Afifi) which the Government itself supplies, by subjecting the picking and grading to Government supervision, and by instructing the cultivators in the most economic methods of sowing, raising, and harvesting the crop. At the same time, strenuous measures have been taken to prevent the mixing of the Tokar cotton with inferior grades, in order that its reputation may be established.

Apart from the production of this district, the bulk of the cotton at present raised in the Sudan is grown in the country south of Wad Medani, where the crop is watered by rain. The various districts in which it is now proposed to introduce, or extend, the cultivation of Egyptian

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cotton on irrigated lands have been indicated in the foregoing account of the irrigation projects of the Sudan Government. A few words of more precise information may be added, however. with respect to the largest and most important of these new cotton areas-the Gezira Plain.

#### THE GEZIRA PLAIN

Owing to the circumstance that the Plain, otherwise almost perfectly flat, has a well-defined slope from the Blue to the White Nile, it can be readily drained, and is, therefore, especially suitable for irrigation. The total area of this fertile tract is 5,000,000 acres, of which two-thirds can be placed under irrigation. The scope of the present irrigation scheme is to provide a water supply for 500,000 acres out of this total; and it is believed that this area can be brought into cultivation in the course of the next ten years.

Within the last few years an experiment farm of 2000 acres has been established at Tayiba, on the Blue Nile, just south of Wad Medani; and here various crops have been grown and tested by the Sudan Plantations Syndicate on behalf of the Sudan Government. The Afifi cotton produced on this farm is stated to be superior to any similar crop raised in Egypt; and of the result of these experimental crops in general, Lord Kitchener wrote in 1912 :- 1

'The experiment of growing cotton on the Gezira Plain, commenced last year, has proved

<sup>1</sup> Report on Egypt and the Sudan in 1911. F.E.

entirely successful. Not only has the yield per feddan (acre) been good, but the quality of the cotton is also excellent. We may therefore conclude that it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that, during the months when the excess of Nile water is not required for cultivation in Egypt, it can be utilised in the Sudan for the production of good and valuable crops. This undoubtedly opens up a vast field for development. It is, of course, premature to give a final opinion on the future of the great agricultural possibilities which certainly exist. I would, however, remark that in the desire to meet the increased requirements of Europe in regard to cotton, it is most essential to proceed without undue haste, and the greatest caution must at the same time be exercised in considering how the welfare of the people of the Sudan may best be served.'

And in the following year (1913) he added:—

'Very good work has been carried out by the Gezira experimental station at Tayiba. The cotton crops proved excellent, while wheat and lubia gave very fair results. The natives are being educated in modern methods, and show

great desire to learn.'

One other point may be noticed with respect to the development of this vast and fertile tract. In the case of the Tokar cotton industry it has been found that a seasonal supply of labour is provided by the population of the surrounding districts. As the centre of the proposed irrigation area in the Gezira Plain is within 100 miles of

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the towns of New and Old Khartum and Omdurman, which now have a collective population of 120,000, it is believed that there will be no difficulty in securing a similar supply of labour, so soon as it is required, for the cultivation of the cotton and other crops which are to be raised

upon the irrigated lands.

The ultimate goal of the Sudan Government is, therefore, the introduction of cotton production on a large scale; and their plans embrace, in addition to the supply of Egyptian cotton-seed of the best quality, the instructing and financing of the cultivators who are to be established on the irrigated areas, and the regulation and control of every process of the industry. In the meantime the necessary legislation—based upon the experience of the British officials in Egypt—for putting these plans into effect is being prepared and gradually brought into operation.

## COTTON PRODUCTION IN EGYPT

In Egypt also a strenuous effort is being made to keep pace with the increasing demands of the cotton-spinners of Europe and America. Here, however, the aim of the Government is not so much to increase the existing area of cotton cultivation—although, as we have seen, this is being done, and done largely—but to purge the industry of abuses, to ameliorate the economic conditions of the fellaheen cultivators, and to raise the standard of production on the existing

areas by improving the yield and quality of the

crops grown upon them.

Such action has been rendered the more urgent by the circumstance that, in recent years, although the area under cotton and the total production of cotton had increased, there had been an appreciable decline in the quantity and quality of the cotton crops, as measured by the yield per feddan (acre). In 1908, as noted by Sir Eldon Gorst, 'recent returns showed that the total production of cotton was not increasing in the same proportion as the cotton-bearing area.' In the following year there was a diminution of 25 per cent. in the total output.

As the result of the bad cotton crop of 1909, a Commission, representative of all sections of the community interested in the production of cotton, was appointed by the Government; since, in spite of the beneficial effect of a rise in price, it was felt that the financial stability of the country could be assured only by 'a larger average yield, and a more extensive cultivation of the more valuable qualities of cotton.' The chief causes of the deterioration, as revealed by the findings of this Commission,

were :-

(1) Defective and injurious methods of cultivation, and in particular over-watering after the arrival of the annual flood, and neglect of sub-soil drainage.

(2) The degeneration of the plant, caused mainly by the use of inferior seed consequent upon the practice of mixing Hindu with Egyptian

varieties.

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(3) The prevalence of insect pests, 1 especially

the cotton-worm and the boll-worm.

With a view to the removal of these evils, the Commission recommended the creation of a Department of Agriculture; the reorganisation of the system of agricultural schools; the establishment of agricultural stations, where scientific investigations could be conducted, and the results obtained, tested, and applied under local conditions; and the employment of a staff of experts under the Department to devise measures for combating the cotton-worm and other pests, and of qualified inspectors to super-

vise the operation of these measures.

Many of these recommendations had been anticipated by the Government, and the legislation necessary for putting them into effect was already in force; but the Department of Agriculture was not organised and brought into full-operation until the beginning of 1911. Lord Kitchener's arrival in this year, 2 as British Agent in succession to Sir Eldon Gorst, gave a fresh impetus to the work of the new Department; and with the measures adopted for the improvement of cotton cultivation and other branches of agriculture, there have been associated a group of laws intended to promote the economic condition of the fellaheen.

This recent legislation, as a whole, will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The marked increase of cotton pests in recent years is ascribed to the damp condition of much of the soil of the cotton areas (due to over-watering and absence of proper drainage), and to the indiscriminate destruction of birds.

<sup>?</sup> On September 28.

considered subsequently, as being a fresh and interesting development of the general process of preparing the mass of the Egyptian population for self-government. That part of it, however, which aims directly at increasing the cotton production of the country must be included in any account of the efforts which are being made by the Egyptian Government with this end in view.

#### THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

The measures now being adopted for combating the evils, and remedying the defects, held responsible for the deterioration of the average yield of the cotton areas, may be grouped under

the following heads :--

(1) Production and distribution of pure seed.

—'In order to maintain the standard of purity of the seed grown on the State domains,' says Lord Kitchener's Report for 1911, 'constant supplies of pure seed from the experimental farms must be available. A scheme has been submitted for the production by Mendelian selection of the required type of cotton-plant, and for its propagation by methods ensuring its purity for the required number of generations before distribution for cultivation under farm conditions.' And arrangements of a very complete character have been made for the purpose of supplying this improved seed both to the large and small cultivators.

In the case of the former, 'the selected seed

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from the State domain; is sold under a contract signed by the purchaser, permitting the Government inspectors to visit the fields where it is sown; the purchaser also agreeing to notify to the Government the name of the ginner, 1 or merchant to whom he shall sell his cotton.' And, it is added, the most important ginners have agreed to sell to the Government the seed resulting from the growths of the selected seed.

In the case of the small, or fellaheen cultivator,

<sup>1</sup> The cotton crop is taken from the fields to the mill to be prepared for export. The first process, which consists in the separation of the cotton fibre from the seed, is called ginning. 'In the gin-room at Messrs ---- 's mill there were sixty-four gins, driven by steam power, and between them rails were laid the length of the room, on which ran an ordinary railway truck. The machines were served by Arab boys or girls, and they each turn out from 900 to 920 kantars of cotton in a day of twelve-and-ahalf hours. . . . The cotton thus separated from the seed is carried in truck-loads to the press-room adjoining the gin-room. Here it is made up into bales by means of hydraulic presses. . . . The seed is 'garbled' . . . and cleaned . . . and finally made up into sacks. . . . The cotton seed, all of which is exported, with the exception of a small quantity kept for sowing purposes, yields a pure oil which is especially valuable because it can be flavoured and so used for table purposes. Most of this oil, however, is sold for lubricating machinery. A further product . . . is the seed cake used by the English farmer for feeding his cattle.'- The Redemption of Egypt (by the author), p. 51 et seq. A full account of the processes of cotton-growing and ginning, etc., will be found in the chapter of this work entitled 'The Delta and the Cotton Industry.'

the best seed of the most careful ginners in the country is purchased by the Government for delivery to him at a price below that which he has been accustomed to pay to merchants for inferior qualities. The money for the purchase of the seed is advanced, moreover, to the cultivator by the Government. The advance is made early in the year; it is collected, together with the Land Tax, in November, when the crop is harvested and the cultivator is able to pay for it.

(2) Demonstration farms.—The methods and object of this measure are revealed in the following passage, taken from the Report of 1911.

'Efforts were made during the year (1911) to improve the methods of cultivation by the establishment of demonstration farms upon a system under which the proprietor of the land supplies the labour, and the officers of the Agricultural Department direct it. Twenty-four of these farms were carried on during the year, and were chiefly used to show that cotton could be grown more successfuly with less water than was generally supplied, and that a larger crop could be obtained by a wider spacing of the plants and ridges; 106 feddans were taken for the purpose, the crops grown consisting of cotton, wheat, sugar-cane, and soya beans. Great interest was taken in the farms, nearly all of which produced results far superior to those of the surrounding cultivation.'

And the Report for 1912 states that the number of demonstration farms was doubled during that year, and that the object lessons afforded by them were co-operating usefully with the general work of the Agricultural Inspectorate. It continues:—

'Investigations into the effect of light and heavy watering have indicated that, with the former, cotton matures quickly, but with perhaps a deficiency in strength of lint; whereas, with the latter, excess of leaf-growth is formed and a late crop, liable to destruction by insect pests, follows.' Where the soil was permeable, light and frequent watering was found to produce the best results; but where the soil was of a less permeable character, a moderately heavy but infrequent watering proved the more beneficial. And in this connection it should be noticed that upon Lord Kitchener's arrival in Egypt provision was made for the long delayed but urgently required drainage of the large areas of the Delta which had become 'water-logged'; and that now these important drainage works are being actively carried out in conjunction with other measures necessary for the reclamation of hitherto uncultivated lands.

(3) Protection from the cotton-worm and other pests.

—In 1910, an effective organisation for fighting the cotton-worm was created by the Ministry of the Interior. In the year following, however, the European staff, originally entrusted with the execution of the scheme, was withdrawn, and the control was left in the hands of the native officials. As the result of this change, when, towards the end of June, the worm suddenly appeared in alarming quantities, the organisation threatened to break down, and the destruction of the cotton

erop was averted only by the adoption of extreme

measures by the Government.

'Several of the highest officials from headquarters proceeded to the worst districts, and for a time it may be said that in several provinces every administrative official, including the rank and file of the police, was working in the fields encouraging or forcing the peasants to clear their erops. Owing to these efforts the pest was mastered.'

The severity of the visitation may be seen from the facts that in this year the total number of days' work reported was 7,500,000, as against 2,600,000 for 1910; the number of persons punished for failure to report the appearance of the worm was 19,845, as against 13,570; and 3137 Omdas and Sheikhs were punished for negligence, as against 900 in the previous season.

In view of this experience the organisation was recast in 1912, and the control of the working of its machinery placed again in European hands. While the local authorities were charged, as before, with the actual cotton-worm work, the number of inspectors was raised to ten, and that of the special sub-inspectors to twenty; and the large number of special native officials (Moawins) recruited temporarily for the cotton-worm season were replaced by a smaller but more efficient staff of permanent employees. The protective machinery, therefore, instead of being started afresh every year on the appearance of the worm, is now at work continuously all the year round and from year to year.

Nor did the efforts of the Government stop

here. Various supplementary measures were adopted, some of which are so ingenious as to deserve mention. A new law was passed under which the careless or idle cultivator, convicted of neglect to clear his own fields of cotton-worm, is compelled to work in those of his neighbour—a circumstance which, as Lord Kitchener remarks, has proved 'a useful incentive to energy.' In order to make the future generation of fellaheen better acquainted with the nature of the evil, and to dispel the superstitious feeling which makes the fellah of to-day apathetic in its presence, a special catechism upon the habits of the cotton-worm and other insect pests has been provided for use in the Kuttabs.

Even more interesting is the device of fighting the cotton- and boll-worms through the agency of their natural enemies. All birds useful to agriculture, therefore, are now protected by law. The parasites, which in India and other countries check the spread of the cotton-worm, are being introduced. As the result of recent investigations a useful natural enemy of the pink boll-worm has been found. A supply of the parasites which attack the common boll-worm has been obtained from India; while in Egypt itself another and a new enemy of this pest has been discovered which has received the appropriate name of Rhogas Kitcheneri.

(4) The institution of official cotton markets (halakas), etc.—Under this head may be grouped various measures designed to remove certain abuses in the purchase and sale of cotton, which were injurious to the individual cultivator and to the

industry as a whole. With this end in view, a number of laws have been enacted which, as in the case of the diamond industry in South Africa, create a special class of statutory offences.

Thus, a boundary line has been defined by law 'between the districts which grow Ashmouni and those which produce other kinds of cotton'; and the removal of unginned Ashmouni cotton from Upper to Lower Egypt, or the introduction of unginned Afifi cotton into Upper Egypt, are made punishable offences. The abuse against which this measure is directed is the fraudulent mixing of the Ashmouni or Upper Egypt cotton with the finer Afifi of the Delta during the process of ginning, and the subsequent sale of this mixed cotton as Afifi—a practice which lowered the reputation of the Egyptian Afifi cotton in the markets of the world.

This endeavour to defend the foreign purchaser and promote the interests of the industry as a whole has been accompanied by a very important measure, intended to protect the actual fellah cultivator from dishonesty and trickery on the part of the cotton merchants—the establishment of Government cotton markets, or halakas, throughout the cotton-growing areas of Egypt. The necessity for this measure, and its economic significance, will be understood from the following passage in Lord Kitchener's Report for 1912.

'The small farmers of Lower Egypt have suffered in the past under a variety of disadvantages in the sale of their cotton erop, which constitutes their main source of revenue for the year, not the least of which have been the

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fraudulent practices to which they are exposed at the hands of the less scrupulous merchants and agents purchasing cotton in the villages. Such buyers often conceal the market-price, make excessive reductions for sacks, for transport expenses, 1 for brokerage, and for grading, and, worst of all, the type of weighing-machines in use was adapted for manipulation with the thumb and forefinger, so that it was not unusual for the seller to be defrauded by this means to the extent of ten or twenty ratls 2 a sack. The peasant's method of defending himself against such frauds, of which he is vaguely conscious, has been to

1'In the middle of our talk (i.e. at the cotton mill at Mehalet) a line of camels had swung through the factory gate, and they were proceeding with that indescribable mixture of pride and clumsiness, which only a well-laden camel can assume, into the centre of the yard. . . . At a sign from their drivers they had lumbered—there is no other word for it—on to the ground; and there they lay round the weighing-machine waiting patiently while the two huge sacks, which formed their respective loads, were uncorded and wheeled off to increase the size of the mountains of cotton through which they had threaded their way.' (Redemption of Egypt.)

Each of these bags weighs from 400 to 500 lb., and the camel carries this load for 30 miles in the day. The cotton crop, as it comes from the fields in these bags, is on an average one-third cotton and two-thirds seed, by weight. Efforts are being made now by the extension of light railways and the construction of roads to improve the means of transport in the agricultural districts of the country. It is scarcely necessary to remark that in the large mills, such as this, there is no question of dishonest weights.

<sup>?</sup> The ratl =about 1 lb. and one-fifth of an oz.

place bricks and sand in his cotton bags, and to damp his cotton in order to increase the weight.'

The working of the halaka is thus de-

scribed :-

'An enclosed space about an acre in extent is taken in a suitable position, in the centre of which the official weighing-machine is erected. and, in a prominent position, a notice-board is placed, on which is daily marked up in large figures the opening price of ginned cotton, received by telegram from an agent in the Bourse in Alexandria: should there be a rise or fall of more than five piastres (approximately a shilling) during the morning, a further telegram is received and posted up notifying the change. In addition to this, a circular is despatched every afternoon by the National Bank of Egypt at Alexandria giving the latest prices at Minet-el-Barral (the great cotton market) of all the various kinds of cotton and of seed. This notice is also displayed in a conspicuous position. The small farmer throughout the country is thus informed of all the latest prices of cotton at Alexandria, and is no longer obliged to rely on information gathered from interested parties.'

These halakas are maintained by the local Councils, Provincial or Municipal; but the Ministry of the Interior exercises a general supervision over their working by means of a British inspector, and the weighing-machines are tested periodically by officials of the Weights and Measures Department. Each halaka is in charge of a manager, with an

official weigher, a door-keeper, and some ghafirs (watchmen).

Side by side with the manager's office is a branch of the newly established Government Savings Bank, and rooms which can be rented for the storage of cotton are provided. All cotton entering a halaka is charged at the rate of five millièmes (14d.) per kantar; and for this payment the owner is entitled to have all his cotton weighed officially, or he can have only one or two bags weighed, before or after they are weighed by the purchaser, to enable him to verify

his original estimate.

Up to the end of 1912, the official returns showed that 593,000 kantars of cotton,1 owned by 185,000 proprietors, had been brought to the halakas. In view of the fact that at least half of the cotton crop is sold before it is gathered. and taken direct to a store or ginning-mill, this result was considered to be satisfactory. At the same time, Lord Kitchener adds, 'the scheme has met with considerable opposition from the small merchants and the public weighers. In some places the former have combined in refusing either to enter the halakas or to purchase cotton that has passed through them. Letters from many of the leading cotton merchants show, however, that the scheme is welcomed by the honest buyers as giving them a fairer chance of competing in the market with their less scrupulous rivals. and several of the representatives of the largest cotton dealing firms in the country have given

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The estimated total yield of the Egyptian cotton crop in 1912 was 7,500,000 kantars. The kantar =99 lbs.

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practical and substantial support to the scheme.'

#### EXTERNAL TRADE

Taking the latest returns available at the time of writing, we find that the value of the external trade of Egypt for the year 1912 was £E.60,482 080; the value of the imports being £E.25,907,759, and that of the exports £E.34,574,321. Of this considerable and increasing volume of trade the British Empire has a far larger share than any other country, since it supplies more than one-third of the total imports and purchases nearly one-half of the total exports. The relative value of the commodities imported from the British Empire, as compared with those taken from other states, is shown in the following table:—

Great 1	Britain				£E.	7,990,6	558
,	,	Medite	rranea	n			
		Poss	ession	S .		253,3	382
,	,	Far E	ast Po	)S=			
		sessi	ons			1,314,5	361
							- names anni
							£E.9,558,401
Turkey							2,753,723
France							2,411,425
Austria	-Hunga	ary .				•	1,679,831
German	ıy .						1,421,180
Italy .			•			•	1,242,729
Belgiun	n .		•			•	1,102,711
United	States						403,528

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And the relative value of the Egyptian exports taken by the British Empire is exhibited below:—

Great Britain				£E.10	6,022,33	18
99	Medite	rranea	ın			
	Possessions .			13,600		
	Far Ea	S-				
	sessions			122,704		
					£	E.16,158,622
United States						4,120,900
Germany .						3,885,900
France .	٠				•	2,707,000
Russia .						2,056,302
Austria-Hunga	ary .					1,431,150
Switzerland						1,008,900
Italy				4		948,890

The principal purchases made by Egypt from the United Kingdom are: textiles, £E.3,810,794; coal and wood, £E.1,471,648; and metals and manufactured metals, £E.1,308,289.

The principal sales made by Egypt to the United Kingdom are: raw cotton (£E.12,572,150), cotton-seed and cotton-seed cake, eggs, and onions (£E.190,300).

The circumstances and events which show how greatly Egypt is indebted to England for the creation of this large volume of trade are already known to the reader. It will suffice, therefore, to recall the single fact that, during the period of the Occupation, the external trade of the country has been trebled. The relationship of commerce is one which happily exists between Great Britain and many foreign countries.

While, therefore, it would be a mistake to attach any special importance to the existence of this relationship in itself, in the case of Egypt the character of the relationship is greatly changed by the circumstance that her present productive capacity, and the further development of her material resources, are directly dependent upon British action, individual and collective.

The dependence of the Sudan is even more complete. The largeness of the trade now carried on between Egypt and the United Kingdom, and the prospect of a still larger future trade to which the Sudan will be an effective contributor, constitutes therefore, an economic tie which connects the Nile valley with the political system of the British Empire in a manner that no statesman can pretend to ignore.

## CHAPTER IX

EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM—THE NATIONALISM OF CONSPIRACY AND CRIME

In the current of Egyptian progress, as in that of other onward flowing streams, there is a backwash—the movement of revolt against British control, which is known as 'Nationalism.' At the close of the year 1905, a dangerous recrudescence of the spirit of Moslem intolerance, which was largely responsible for the Arabi rebellion, manifested itself. On December 7, at Alexandria, a Greek quarrelled with a native Egyptian over the purchase of a piece of cheese, drew a knife, and killed his antagonist. This quarrel, essentially trivial in its origin, was followed three days later by a dispute at a café, also between Greeks, in which a native was shot accidentally in the street.

In the riot which ensued twenty-three Europeans were wounded; and when the report that a Greek had killed a native had spread, a rabble of low-class natives flocked together and raised the cry of 'Death to the Christians.' Owing to the prompt action of the police, under British command, order was restored; but although there was no further disturbance at Alexandria, a similar demonstration of religious

fanaticism threw the European community at Port Said into something approaching a panic. The rioters were brought to trial, and those who were convicted by the (native) judge were punished—for the most part by short terms of imprisonment.

This disquieting outbreak was succeeded six months later (June 13, 1906) by a much more serious occurrence. The Denshawai affair (of which full particulars are given in 'Egypt, No. 3 and No. 4, 1996') was an attack by peasants, at the village so named, upon five British officers, of whom one was fatally, and two others seriously wounded. Any hesitation to punish effectively an outrage of this character would have placed in jeopardy the lives and property of the European residents and the native Christians throughout the country. Among the masses of the population gratitude for the vast benefits received through British administration was secondary to a deep-seated hatred for the enemies of the Prophet. There was a conflict between self-interest, or natural gratitude, and religious duty, but, since in the East religion is the prime source of action, the latter prevailed.

If, therefore, the sanction of physical force. as embodied in the Army of Occupation, had been weakened or removed, the whole fabric of reform, laboriously reared in the last twenty years, would have been liable to be shattered by any sudden outburst of Moslem fanaticism. In these circumstances to visit the assailants of the British officers at Denshawai with prompt and exemplary punishment was as merciful as it was imperative.

All persons concerned in the outrage were arrested and brought to trial before the special tribunal, constituted in 1895, to deal with

offences against the Army of Occupation.

On June 27, four persons, convicted of being ringleaders, were sentenced to death; others were condemned to terms of imprisonment; and seven were ordered to receive fifty lashes. On the day following—just a fortnight after the crime—the death sentences and floggings were carried out on the spot where the officers had been attacked, and witnessed by some 500 villagers. The court included the most competent English and the most competent native judge, and the sentences represented the unanimous judgment of its members.

Notwithstanding these facts, however, the action of the British authorities in Egypt was criticised in the House of Commons, and an attempt was made to arouse public sympathy with the Nationalist cause. It should be added that on January 8, 1908, the anniversary of the Khedive's accession, those of the Denshawai offenders who had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment, were pardoned and released.

Lord Cromer, who, in view of the gravity of the situation revealed by these occurrences, had requested and obtained an increase of the British garrison, left Egypt on May 6, 1907. To the normal difficulties of his successor, Sir Eldon Gorst, was added an increased activity on the part of the Nationalist Party, due, in some degree at least, to the encouragement which it had received from the sympathy, displayed by a

small body of British politicians, with the 'victims' of Denshawai.

Thus it was in the four years (1907-1911) of Sir Eldon's tenure of office as British Agent that the Nationalist movement assumed an aspect so menacing, that it threatened to arrest for the moment the normal development of representative institutions upon the lines laid down by Lord

Dufferin's Report.

The establishment of Parliamentary government in Turkey in 1908-1909 exercised a two-fold influence upon Egyptian Nationalism. While, naturally, it gave a considerable stimulus to the efforts of the more moderate section of the party, whose aim was to obtain similar institutions for Egypt, the extremists were discredited by the success of the 'Young Turks'; since these latter were Liberals of the most advanced type, and as such openly expressed contempt for the ultra-Mohammedan, anti-Christian, and anti-Western views which, in Egypt, constituted the sole popular appeal of the Nationalist cause.

The vernacular Press, which was the main instrument of the Nationalist propaganda, had been treated with great leniency under Lord Cromer. Early in 1909, however, in order to place some check upon this most injurious influence, certain sections of the Press Law of 1881, dealing with the registration and control of newspapers and printing presses, which of late years had fallen into disuse, were revived, and one or two of the most outrageous and scandalous

offenders were punished.

On February 20, 1910, Boutros Ghali Pasha,

the late Prime Minister of Egypt and a Copt, was assassinated by a person of feeble intellect, named Wardani. The motives of the crime, Sir Eldon Gorst wrote, were purely political. murderer had no personal grudge against his victim, and was not acting under the influence of religious fanaticism, and in defence of his deed merely repeated the accusations which have, in season and out of season, been alleged against Boutros Pasha, in violent and threatening language in the columns of the Nationalist Press. Though their wretched and misguided follower will pay the penalty, I have no hesitation in saying that the leaders of the Nationalist Party are morally responsible for the murder of Boutros Pasha.

'For years past they have promoted and fomented these attacks, in full knowledge of the fact that their words could not fail to stir the ignorant and excitable youths, to whom they were addressed, to the acts of violence which they now pretend to deplore. It is an example of the irony of fate that the blow due to the criminal incitements of these self-styled patriots should have fallen upon the first genuine Egyptian who had risen to the highest position in the service of his country.'

The assassin was tried and convicted; but the fact that Boutros was a Copt produced a feeling of alarm among the Coptic community which found expression in rumours of intended massacres of Christians, and resulted in an agitation on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report for 1909, dated March 26, 1910. (*Egypt*, No. 1, 1910.)

part of this section of the population for the redress of their grievances, real or supposed.

Justification for the distrust then and subsequently manifested by the Copts towards their Mohammedan neighbours was afforded by the circumstance, that the Nationalist party not only paid the legal expenses of Wardani's defence, but did all in their power to arouse sympathy for the assassin amongst the lower and middle classes, and to import a sentiment of religious antagonism into the affair.' 1

In view of the growing persistence of the Nationalist demands - a persistence which threatened to endanger the public security and to affect adversely the trade and finances of the country-the British Government, through the mouth of Sir Edward Grey, in June, 1910, formally declared in the House of Commons. that there could be no hope of further progress towards self-government in Egypt, until the agitation against the British Occupation had ceased. At the same time, as the result of the sinister information gained during the prosecution of Wardani, the Egyptian Government took fresh powers for controlling the vernacular Press and for detecting and punishing conspiracies.

A year later the death of Sir Eldon Gorst occurred. In his last Report—that for 1910 he observed that the political situation was at the time of writing (March 25, 1911) 'much healthier than at any time during the last few troublous years,' and that a satisfactory change had taken place in the attitude of the moderate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report for 1910.

section of the population towards British policy and administration.

The chief cause of the failure of British policy to commend itself to the Egyptians was, in his opinion, the delusion that 'the aspirations of those who were in favour of the immediate establishment of full representative government would be furthered by an agitation directed against the British Occupation.' This delusion was strengthened by the 'traditional policy of keeping British control as far as possible in the background,' and by the fact that every facility accorded to the Egyptians for co-operating in the administration of the country had been attributed both by themselves and by the European colonies to weakness.

'In the first place, the Nationalists had endeavoured to justify their political existence by making out that every concession was directly attributable to their efforts. Secondly, certain sections of the European Press, which had been on general grounds hostile to any encouragement of the Egyptian element in the administration, had lost no opportunity of proclaiming that each successive step was a mark of weakness and an attempt to pacify the extreme partisans of Egyptian autonomy, both at home and in Egypt.' And the remedy was, therefore, 'to make the Egyptians understand that His Majesty's Government do not intend to allow themselves to be hustled into going farther or faster in the direction of self-government than they consider to be in the interests of the Egyptian people as a whole.'

The intention of the British Government to

give effect to this advice was made known in Sir Edward Grey's declaration of June, 1910; and, upon the death of Sir Eldon Gorst, it was further manifested by the appointment of Lord Kitchener as his successor. It is no disparagement to Lord Kitchener's undoubted administrative abilities to say that the warm approval, which greeted his appointment as British Agent in Egypt, was based mainly upon the fact that he was a great and successful Captain of War; and not only in Egypt but throughout Europe the return of the conqueror of the Sudan to Cairo was understood to signify that, whatever else might happen, for the present at all events the military grip of Britain upon Egypt and the Nile Valley would be tightened and not relaxed.

The Nationalism of futile conspiracy and crime, which took shape in this retrograde and wholly injurious movement, has died down since the pronouncement of June, 1910. Although it obtained a certain hold upon the public mind through the calumnies and incitements of the vernacular Press, only a small and irresponsible section of the population gave it tangible support, and its active adherents were drawn from the ranks of the young Europeanised Egyptians, or more correctly, Turco-Egyptians, of the wealthier classes, and the students who were receiving a

¹ There was a recrudescence of this spirit of Nationalism in 1912. It took the form of a conspiracy to assassinate prominent officials, but the plot was detected happily in time, and those engaged in it were tried and punished. The offenders were fanatical persons influenced by the example of Wardani.

European education in the Government and other schools. Moreover, the sentiment of Pan-Islamism, as represented by the effort to unite Moslems throughout the world in a league of hatred against the Christian nations, from which its leaders derived their main inspiration, has been weakened by the rise of the young Turks to power, and the military disasters of the Turkish Empire in Tripoli and the Balkan Peninsula.

#### ILLOGICAL NATIONALISM

There are, however, other and less sinister developments of Egyptian Nationalism which deserve consideration. First of all is the muddled but very human condition of mind, which is described by Lord Cromer as the 'paradoxical desire to secure all the advantages of the British Occupation, which are fully recognised, without the Occupation itself.' And he provides some instructive examples of the absurd inconsistencies for which this kind of 'Nationalism' is responsible.

'I have had a leading Egyptian urge me to employ fewer Europeans in the Government service, and, in the same breath, ask me to arrange that a lawsuit in which he was interested should be tried by a British judge. I have known a warm advocate of Egyptian rights plead carnestly for the appointment of a British rather than an Egyptian engineer to superintend the distribution of water in his own province. Over and over again I have had it pointed out to me

that the authority of the Egyptian Mudirs is weakened by the presence in their respective provinces of British inspectors, whilst, at the same time, the withdrawal of the inspectors would lead to disastrous consequences—conclusions in both

of which I entirely agree.

'As to corruption, I need only say that I have known scores of cases in which individuals—often in a very high position—have inveighed bitterly against the blackmail which they have to pay to the subordinates of the Public Works and other departments, and at the same time have refused to make any formal complaint or to mention names, thus depriving any superior authorities of the only effective arm which might enable such practices to be checked. I could multiply instances of this sort. . . '1

#### GENUINE NATIONALISTS

In sharp contrast to this widely prevalent and natural chafing against a foreign rule, however beneficent, is the action of the small but growing number of patriotic Egyptians who desire to promote the cause of their Moslem fellow-countrymen and the interests of their Faith, not by the methods of Pan-Islamism, but by the reform of Moslem institutions upon Western lines. The aim of such men is not to oppose the British administrator, but to co-operate with him in improving the social and political conditions of the mass of the Moslem population. And to do

this, in so far as it can be done without violation of the fundamental principles of the religion of Mohammed, they are prepared to use the machinery of Moslem institutions for the introduction of European knowledge and the inculcation of Western standards of thought and conduct.

In the past this school of reformers owed its main inspiration to the late Mufti, Sheikh Mohammed Abdou, whose proposals were much the same as those to which effect was given in India by the late Seyyid Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College. More recently one of its foremost members, Saad Pasha Zagloul, has been appointed Minister of Education and subquently Minister of Justice. As indications of the practical gain which may be expected to result from the efforts of such men, we have the reorganisation of the University of El-Azhar and other Moslem teaching institutions, and the action of Saad Pasha himself on the occasion of the first elections held under the new Constitution.

Some account of the former event has been laid before the reader in an earlier chapter: <sup>1</sup> the circumstances in which the latter occurred were these. After the elections of the first degree had taken place on October 26, 1913, under the provisions of the new Organic and Electoral Laws promulgated on the preceding July 21, it remained for the electors-delegate to elect on the appointed day, December 13, the sixty-six elective members of the new Legislative Assembly.

On October 29, Saad Pasha Zagloul (who had resigned the Ministry of Justice in the preceding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. VI., p. 111.

year) announced his intention of offering himself for election in the *Mokattam* newspaper, at the same time publishing a statement of the measures which he undertook to support. This example of issuing an election address in the manner of a European parliamentary candidate was followed by other Egyptians seeking election to the Legislative Assembly, among whom was a prominent Copt and a former member of the old

Legislative Council, Markos Bey Simeika.

The significance of these occurrences must not be overrated. They are, as described, 'indications' of future good results, and nothing more. The endeavour to purge and vitalise the Moslem schools, from the University to the Kuttab, by the introduction of Western knowledge and methods of thought, involves changes so profound and far-reaching that many years must pass before any progress can be registered with certainty. The value of the adoption by Egyptian candidates of the practice of issuing election addresses to their would-be constituents is discounted by the circumstance that not more than 5 per cent. of the native population can read and write.

Nor is the fear that even the ingenious arrangements of the new Constitution may fail to shake the Egyptian elector out of his apathy by any means dispelled by the experience of this first election. October 26, the day on which the elections of the first degree were held, found the blue-clad <sup>1</sup> fellaheen working in the fields

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fellah wears a long indigo-dyed cotton garment over his loose drawers.

as on any ordinary day, and even in the towns

there were few signs of public interest.

The percentage of registered electors who went to the poll varied in the provinces from 15:39 in Aswan to 20:09 in Girga; in Cairo it was 6:69, and in Alexandria 4:98. At the same time the fact that the percentage was higher in the provinces than in the two great towns is satisfactory, in so far as it shows that the extended privileges of the new Constitution are appreciated more highly by the real Egyptians than by the mixed Ottoman population of Cairo and Alexandria.

While, however, the difficulties which confront these native reformers must be fully recognised, the fact remains that all that is best in Egyptian Nationalism—in other words, whatever hope of 'reform from within' exists—is to be found in the efforts of these men, and in the not unreasonable expectation that the number of those who share their opinions will increase.

## AIMS AND METHODS OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY

The circumstance that the Nationalist Party, so called, can find no place for such men in its ranks, is sufficient to condemn it; since, without them it cannot fail to be otherwise than sterile, even if it ceases to be actively harmful. Its aims, in so far as they can be formulated, are understood to be: (1) the constitution of a popularly elected chamber of representatives;

with (2) a Ministry responsible to a majority of the members of this chamber; and (3) the removal of all external control over the finances

of Egypt.

The methods by which it pursued these aims in 1909 and the early part of 1910 were, in Sir Eldon Gorst's words, to 'undermine the influence of the Anglo-Egyptian officials by constant abuse, to insult all Egyptians who did not take up an antagonistic attitude to British control, and to incite to disorder whenever an opportunity offered.' And the main achievement of the Nationalist Party, aided by its organs in the vernacular Press, during the period of its activity, was to dominate the (former) Legislative Council and General Assembly so completely that these bodies 'became mere instruments of the Nationalist agitation against the Occupation.'

As such, these chambers became the channels for 'repeated demands for full constitutional government,' for 'acrimonious attacks on the Government in connection with the Budget and the Sudan,' and displayed 'an unreasonable hostility and suspicion in the discussion of the

Suez Canal Scheme.' 1

¹ The purpose of this scheme was to obtain funds for the immediate development of the country by securing (1) a lump sum of £E.4,000,000, and (2) a gradually increasing share in the profits of the Canal from 1921 to 1968, in return for an extension of the original concession for forty years from 1968 onwards; such concession to be granted on condition of the profits of the Canal being divided equally between the Company and the Egyptian Government.

The effect upon the Legislative Council was most disastrous. 'Neither Boutros Pasha's Ministry,' Sir Eldon continued, 'nor that of Mohammed Said Pasha, both composed of men accepted by general consent as amongst the most intelligent and capable Egyptians, have so far been able to guide the Council or build up a Government party within it. Prince Hussein abandoned in despair his efforts to instil order and moderation into its deliberations, and on his retirement, the ungrateful post of President was refused by one well-known Egyptian after another.'

Although, as before noticed, the brunt of the Nationalist agitation was borne by Sir Eldon Gorst (1907-1911), the anti-Christian outbreaks and the Denshawai affair forced the movement upon Lord Cromer's attention, and in his last Report—that for the year 1906—he devoted some considerable space to an analysis of its origin and aims. The programme of the Nationalist Party, he declared, in emphatic terms, to be incapable of realisation at present, and he doubted whether, in the form in which it was then conceived, it could ever be realised. The grant of autonomous institutions would reduce Egypt to administrative chaos.

'Intrigue of all sorts would be rife. The system of bribery and corruption which was at one time so prevalent in the country, and which is even now only dying a lingering death, would receive a fresh impulse.' And it was 'more than probable that, under the specious title of free

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report for 1910 (dated March 25, 1911), p. 2.

institutions, the worst evils of personal government would reappear.' The transfer of financial control to an elective chamber would 'almost inevitably lead to national bankruptey.' Moreover, such proposals, if adopted, would 'constitute a flagrant injustice, not only to the very large foreign interests involved, but also to those ten or twelve millions of Egyptians to the advancement of whose moral and material welfare' he had devoted the best years of his life.

# THE PLACE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EGYPTIAN NATION

At the same time, Lord Cromer recognised that certain aspirations which found expression in the Nationalist movement were not only natural but deserving of encouragement. A sense of independence was a natural offspring of the even-handed administration of justice under British control. Education had 'awakened an. bitions formerly dormant'; and, that young Egyptians who had received a Western education should claim 'a larger share than heretofore in the government and administration of their country,' demanded sympathy rather than surprise. Moreover, it was well for a nation, and for a nation's politicians, to cherish an ideal, even though distant and difficult of realisation. He, therefore, put forward, as a counter-programme to that of the Nationalist party, an ideal which he himself had long entertained.

'It is, that the only possible Egyptian nationality which can ever be created must consist of all the dwellers in Egypt, irrespective of race, religion, or extraction. So long as the country was well-nigh throttled by impending bankruptcy, so long as the fate of the Sudan was uncertain, and so long as Anglo-French rivalry was in a more or less acute stage, discussions or reflections on this subject could be nothing more than academical. These obstacles have now been removed. Another, however, remains. So long as the régime of the Capitulations, in its present form, exists, not only must the Egyptians and the foreigners resident in Egypt always be divided into two separate camps, but also no thorough solidarity of interest can be established between the various communities of Europeans inter se. ... That cohesion can only be gained by the creation of a local International Council. . . .

'Apart from other grounds on which it may be defended as a reform beneficial alike to Europeans and Egyptians, I maintain that this measure will tend more than any other to create a community of interest amongst the heterogeneous population which inhabits the Valley of the Nile, and that it will be a first step towards the formation of an Egyptian national spirit in the only sense in which that spirit can be evoked without detriment to the true interests of the country.

... The bestowal of legislative autonomy on the Europeans resident in Egypt, to take the place of the present cumbersome and unworkable system of legislation by diplomacy, is a measure naturally indicated by the ordinary causes which

apply to political evolution. The cause will certainly triumph, although the triumph may be

delayed.' 1

As elsewhere and more fully formulated, Lord Cromer's proposals include, in addition to this local Council, representative of the European residents and competent to legislate on their behalf, the creation of Special Courts competent to deal with the civil and criminal matters now comprised in the jurisdiction exercised by the various consular authorities. His counter-programme is therefore one which commands the fullest consideration; since, not only does it embody a new conception of Egyptian nationality, but the reasons which make the creation of these new institutions desirable and necessary form collectively the case for the immediate modification and ultimate abolition of the Capitulations.

### THE BARRIER OF THE CAPITULATIONS

The goal of Anglo-Egyptian statesmanship is to raise the local executive, legislature, and judicature to a standard of efficiency which will make it impossible for any European nation, however advanced in civilisation, to object with any show of reason to its nationals being subjected, during residence in the country, to the authority of the Egyptian Government.

And in this connection it must be remembered that the co-operation of Turkey with Great Britain in an endeavour to obtain the consent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Egypt, No. 1 (1907), p. 7.

of the Powers to the creation of a 'local and uniform jurisdiction and legislature,' sufficient to render unnecessary the further exercise of the rights possessed by foreign Governments in virtue of the Capitulations and other international agreements, was one of the conditions upon which the British Government insisted, when in 1887 it declared its readiness to fix a date for the evacuation of Egypt.

But, although Egyptian institutions have now reached a stage of development with which the system of the Capitulations, in its present form, is 'wholly incompatible,' the conditions of the country, and especially the police organisation with other kindred matters, still remain, in Lord Cromer's opinion, of such a character that 'special treatment' will be necessary for Europeans for a long time to come.

His proposals, therefore, offer a half-way house between the present régime of the Capitulations and the final stage, in which the European residents can be safely divested of all extra-territorial rights and privileges, and the ideal of a composite nationality, based upon a 'complete assimilation between Egyptians and Europeans,'

will be capable of realisation.

### LEGISLATIVE INCOMPETENCY

The hindrances to the development of local government, due directly to the Capitulations, have been noticed in an earlier chapter. The great outstanding disadvantage which they entail upon the Anglo-Egyptian Administration lies, however, in the fact that 'where Europeans are concerned, legislation has, in all important matters to be conducted by diplomacy. Fourteen separate Powers have to agree, not merely in principle, but also in detail, before any proposed measure can become law.' Out of this necessity there arises a 'legislative babel,' which 'goes far to produce a condition of legislative impotence.'

The many practical inconveniences which result from the extra-territorial status of Europeans are set out in the Memorandum on the working of the Capitulations, written in 1905 by Mr Brunyate, one of the legal advisers to the Egyptian Government, and published in the Report for 1906. If exact information upon the subject is required, it will be found in this document. Here it will suffice to refer to two aspects of this legislative impotency which are shown by Mr Brunyate to be especially important.

The first has regard to the development of industrial enterprise. 'To put the ease concisely,' says the Memorandum, 'the leading place in the commerce and industry of Egypt has been taken by foreigners, but the fullest commercial and industrial development is rendered impossible by the absence of the regulating power which is possessed and exercised by every other civilised Government. So far as such regulation is purely civil in its character, it requires the consent of all the Powers; and so far as it requires to be enforced by the criminal law, it is practically impossible.' And the same 'absence of regulating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Egypt, No. 1 (1907), Cd. 2409.

power' is felt, although in a lesser degree, in the

case of land owned by foreigners.

The significance of this aspect of the question is increased by the possibility that mineral deposits will be found and worked on a considerable scale in the deserts on either side of the Nile Valley, and by the circumstance that, as the result of the prospecting for petroleum carried out on the Red Sea littoral, one oil-field has proved

already to be commercially productive.

The second aspect in which the limitations imposed by the Capitulations are seen to be immediately injurious, is the inability of the local Government to deal with certain matters of internal administration, including questions of Public Health. 'It unfortunately happens,' Mr Brunyate wrote, 'that at the present time (1905) there is a marked increase of rabies. Muzzling orders can and probably will be enforced. But the Sanitary Advisers of the Government are clear that an efficacious adjunct to such an order would be a moderate annual licence-tax on dogs; the Legal Advisers of the Government are equally clear that such a tax could not be effectively enforced as against Europeans.' 1

And with reference to such questions in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A recent example taken from the Report for 1910 may be added. Under the heading 'The White Slave Traffic,' we read: 'Though everything possible is done to limit the extent of the evil, the privileges arising from the Capitulations are a bar to any really effective action on the part of the Egyptian authorities.' And the same point is emphasised by Lord Kitchener in his Reports for 1911 and 1912.

general, he emphasises the intolerable position in which the Anglo-Egyptian Administration is placed. 'No outlying dependency has ever yet been successfully administered by any country when every detail of internal administration has required to be submitted to the capital for sanction; and the situation is a hundred-fold worse when the approval of every capital is required from St Petersburg to Washington, and from Madrid to Copenhagen. If the consent of the Powers is to be required in every case, the machine must break down unless such consent is to be given as a matter of form, or unless each of the Powers is to retain the services of one or more experts in the internal administration of

Egypt.'

The removal of the grave disabilities imposed by the Capitulations upon the Anglo-Egyptian administration is the immediate task of British diplomacy. In this task, it will be remembered, the British Government, in pursuance of the understanding arrived at in the course of the negotiations for the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904,1 can count upon the assistance of France. Lord Cromer's remedy, the creation of a local Council representative of the various European communities, and competent to bind the European inhabitants, as a whole, by its legislative decisions, was formulated as early as 1905. But the wheels of international diplomacy move very slowly, and it remains to be seen whether this remedy will be adopted, or some other form of solution will be found.

In the meantime, an advance in the direction of Lord Cromer's solution has been made. In 1911, as the result of the strenuous efforts of the Egyptian Government, the Powers consented to a modification of Article 12 of the Mixed Civil Code, which enabled a law to be promulgated in November of that year constituting the General Assembly of the Appeal Court of the Mixed Tribunals, subject to certain modifications and limitations, a 'Legislative Assembly with

power to legislate for foreigners.'

Under the provisions of the law, the decisions of the Assembly must be passed by a two-thirds majority of a quorum of at least fifteen members, The initiation of legislation lies in the Government. but the Assembly can submit suggestions for the reform of mixed legislation to the Minister of Justice, and it is qualified to make additions to, and amendments of, such legislation. On the other hand, the Assembly has no power to introduce the fundamental alterations in the organisation and jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals which are greatly needed; while laws approved by it cannot be promulgated until three months have elapsed, and any Power, prior to the expiration of this period, can require any such proposed measure to be submitted afresh to the Assembly.1

The value of this new institution is impaired by two deficiencies. All 'organic changes' are excluded from its purview; and the men who are to work it are 'the judges themselves, who not only will have great difficulty in finding the requisite time to devote to this new legislative

<sup>1</sup> Egypt, No. 1 (1912).

task, without neglecting their judicial duties, but are not always in themselves the soundest guides in practical affairs or the safest arbiters of legislative expediency.' And on these grounds, in the opinion of the Judicial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, 'the new scheme, while assuredly a progressive step, . . . can hardly be regarded, in its ensemble, as more than a temporary makeshift, and a more or less satisfactory palliative of the legislative impotence under which the country has suffered for so long.' 1

In spite, however, of these defects in the new authority, it was found possible in 1912 to utilise its legislative powers for the purpose of securing the enactment of an important group of economic laws, applicable to foreigners, to which the attention of the reader will be drawn in the immediate sequel. But, while the adoption of these laws by the Assembly of the Mixed Court of Appeal affords a welcome evidence of the readiness of its members to co-operate with the Egyptian Government, the urgently needed reform of the judicial organisation of the Mixed Courts themselves has been delayed by the failure of the Powers to reach agreement.

The impatience with which this and other similar interferences with the business of government—interferences inherent in legislation by diplomacy—are regarded by Lord Kitchener, is reflected in his last Report. 'I regard it as very unfortunate,' he wrote, 2 'that political opposition should prevent the adoption of reforms in these Courts which the responsible Government of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Egypt, No. 1 (1912). <sup>2</sup> March 22, 1913.

country considers essential to their continued

progress and improvement.'

And elsewhere in the same Report: 'As is well known, the proposals of the Government to reduce the size of the benches has, in spite of protracted negotiations, failed to obtain the approval of certain Powers. With these latter, therefore, must rest the responsibility for a state of things which is admittedly unsatisfactory, and of which the commercial community bitterly complains.¹ Given the reorganisation which is regarded as essential to the proper working of the Courts, the Government are only anxious to strengthen and improve the position of the judges.'

The European residents, although they are increasing, both absolutely and relatively, form numerically an insignificant section of the population of Egypt; but the interests which they represent are so vast, and the part which they play in the economic life of the community is so important, that it is difficult to resist Lord Cromer's contention that no final or valid expression of Egyptian nationality can be obtained until they are fully incorporated into the political

system of the country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The main grievance of the European commercial community lies in the excessive delay to which suitors are subjected. It is said that it takes five years to get a judgment delivered by the Mixed Courts.

### CHAPTER X

### THE EMANCIPATION OF THE FELLAHEEN

While, however, the attainment of Lord Cromer's ideal of a complete assimilation of all the dwellers in Egypt remains barred by the Capitulations, the task of developing a more sane national spirit among the Egyptians themselves has been

approached by Lord Kitchener.

More than once allusion has been made to the circumstance that the indigenous population of the country is most truly represented by the actual cultivators of the soil of the Nile Valley, known collectively as the fellaheen. And with this circumstance has been connected the equally significant fact that, from the time of the Pharaohs downwards, this population has lived in subjection to a succession of foreign masters. Under the Anglo-Egyptian Administration the yoke of the Pashas, the latest of these military over-lords, has been removed; taxation has been reduced; and the fellaheen have benefited by the general development of the resources of the country.

But, on the other hand, the more complete opening up of Egypt to Western enterprise, bringing with it the methods and processes of an industrial system based upon a world-wide competition, has emphasised the economic dependence of the individual fellah. Up to the

present, therefore, the fellaheen have done little more than exchange one servitude for another. No longer the bondsmen of the Pasha, their inherent defects of character, the product of centuries of repression, have tended to render them, in the face of industrial competition, more and more the bondsmen of the foreign usurer.

Nevertheless, these peasant proprietors, povertystricken and ill-equipped for industrial competition as they are, remain to-day, as in the past, the main agents of production, and, outnumbering all other sections of the inhabitants combined, constitute by far the largest and most homogeneous element of the population of Egypt. It is to the moral and material advancement of this element that Lord Kitchener looks for the creation of a body of native public opinion sufficiently strong and sane to discountenance the aims and methods of the (so-called) Nationalist Party and their organs in the vernacular Press. With this object in view, he has secured the adoption of a group of measures all alike intended, directly or indirectly, to improve the economic and social conditions of the fellaheen.

### PREVALENCE OF SMALL PROPRIETORS

To appreciate the value of this effort, the character and the special industrial circumstances of the Egyptian fellah must be recalled. The first fact to recognise is his prevalence—that is, the prevalence of the small proprietor—and the largeness of the share in the cultivated soil of

Egypt, which is owned collectively by him and his fellows. The latest available returns (1911) show that approximately eight-ninths of the cultivated area is held by natives, as against one-ninth held by foreigners; and that nearly two-thirds of the collective native holding, or more than one-half of the total cultivated area, is held by the small proprietors, *i.e.* the owners

of not more than fifty acres (feddans).

Nor is this all. Of the native landowners, as a whole, the vast majority—1,292,000 out of 1,433,000—own holdings of five acres and under; and these peasant proprictors with other working cultivators, the class virtually covered by the term 'fellaheen,' constitute three-fifths of the total population. Add to this the fact that over 30 per cent. of the revenue raised by direct taxation is derived from the Land Tax—which is levied upon all cultivated land at a rate rising in proportion to its rental value from two piastres (5d.) to 164 piastres (£1 15s. 0d.) per acre—and the immense importance of the Fellaheen, as an economic and political asset, becomes apparent.

# CHARACTER AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE FELLAHEEN

The fellah is hard-working, enduring, and a capable, though backward, husbandman. His land is productive, and the cost of living to himself and his family is very low; none the less, he has remained up to the present miserably poor. The explanation is to be found partly in certain defects

of character, and partly in his industrial circumstances. While possessing the virile qualities which have enabled him to emerge unchanged from centuries of servitude and oppression, he shows an unhappy readiness to spend recklessly upon marriage ceremonics and other occasions for social festivity and communal display.

He will ruin himself in litigation with a neighbour rather than accept a settlement which involves a hairbreadth departure from what he believes to be his rights; and he is so illiterate and distrustful of change, that up to the time of Lord Kitchener's arrival (September, 1911) he had failed to utilise the opportunities for improving his economic position hitherto afforded him by the Anglo-Egyptian Administration.

In the case of the poorer fellaheen, the injurious effects of thriftlessness and ignorance were emphasised by the traditional and convenient system under which they worked their holdings. Under this system, which is common enough in the East, the funds necessary for the purchase of seed, cattle, and implements for tillage, and, generally, for everything required for the working of the holding during the forthcoming season, are advanced upon the security of the crops, and these advances are repaid, with the interest agreed upon, when at the end of the agricultural year the crops and other produce have been brought to market.

The advances were obtained from the small foreign money-lenders who, being financed by the banks and protected by the Capitulations, were able to secure exorbitant rates of interest. These

astute Greeks, Jews, or Levantines plied their trade in every village. They were easily accessible, discreet, and prompt; but when the time of reckoning came they showed no mercy. Where the loans were secured upon the land and not merely on the crops, it happened not infrequently that the fellah forfeited his holding, not because he had failed to repay the original loan—possibly a relatively trifling sum—but because he had been unable to meet the accumulated charges for legal expenses, renewals, and arrears of interest, arising out of it.

Nor was this the only direction in which he was defrauded of the fruits of his labour. In addition to paying an exorbitant rate of interest for the advances or loans which he required, he bought his seed, cattle, and implements, at high prices, and sold his produce below its market value. And, as often as not, the money-lender who made an advance upon the security of the crops, and the merchant who supplied him with inferior seed, and beguiled him into selling his cotton crop (or other produce) at less than its real value, were one and the same person.

### PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE ARAB-EGYPTIAN

Here, perhaps, I may be allowed to transcribe an account of my own personal impressions of the Arab-Egyptian as I found him in the Fayum, and elsewhere, in the course of my wanderings in Egypt. On this occasion I had started from

Medinet-el-Fayum, the chief town of the district.

'Once clear of the town we turned into one of the new agricultural roads. It was almost the width of an English highway, with a fairly hard surface, and it was carried over the irrigation canals by level bridges of wood. At first we met groups of the fellaheen, who were bringing their produce into Medinet for the market which was being held on this day; but afterwards, as we got further from the town, fellow-passengers grew rare, and everybody seemed to be at work in the fields.

'The crops, we noticed, were corn, still green, bersin (clover), onions, and figs growing about eight feet high, but leafless at this time of year [it was the end of February], and farther on we came across a walled garden of prickly pears. The country was perfectly flat, but its surface was pleasantly varied by these crops, and traversed in all directions with canals and irrigation channels, and here and there the landscape was broken by a group of palms.

'The animals which we noticed in the fields and villages were camels, buffalo, oxen, sheep, goats, and the ubiquitous donkey; and more than once we came upon strange groups in which the incongruous forms of the larger animals were curiously mingled with the men, women, and children. As we approached the goal of our journey the appearance of the country had improved; the trees were finer and more luxuriant, and the streams and water-courses were larger and more numerous. Here we

seemed to see something of the original lake-land, which had been gradually won from the waters of Lake Moeris.

'On such journeys, and especially when I sat sketching, I was able to see something of the fellah, as he appears in his native fields. More than once when I was thus engaged, a native would offer of his own accord to do me some slight service. On one occasion he spread his loose cloak so that I might light my pipe in spite of the wind. When I was sketching in the native quarter of Cairo, and again at Luxor, I had found the native people civil enough. The donkey-boys of Cairo, in particular, took an interest in my work, and I often heard a long-drawn kwais (good) from one or other of the group which had been patiently watching me. But in Cairo and Luxor, and, in fact, wherever there were tourists, the performance of any service, however slight, was invariably accompanied by a demand for bakhshish.

'But here, where the native had not yet been thus demoralised, such small services proceeded from the natural bonhomie, which is a pleasing trait in the Arab character. At Luxor, also, I was able to see something of the Arab at home. I was indebted for this opportunity to a native gentleman of that place, to whom I had presented an introduction from a friend in Cairo. This gentleman provided me with a guide, who was able to take me into some of the characteristic dwellings of the native inhabitants.

'The dwellings of the very poorest class I found to consist of huts of Nile mud grouped round

a diminutive courtyard, and both houses and courtyard were enclosed by a high wall of the same material. The huts appeared to be used only for sleeping in cold weather, and the real dwelling-place was the courtyard, where the men and women and children were seated on the ground, in the company of a calf, a goat, and

numerous poultry.

'In another dwelling, which belonged to people of a rather better class, I found the house itself built of brick, but the walls of the courtyard, with the ovens for baking, and the circular receptacles for stores of corn and other food, were all built of mud. To this house a guest-chamber was attached in a separate building; and it is characteristic of Arab hospitality that this guest-chamber was provided with a European bed, and was, in fact, far better furnished than any other part of the house.' 1

Neither the indebtedness of the fellaheen, nor their value as an economic and social asset, have been overlooked in the past by the English advisers to the Egyptian Government. As early as 1899 a well-devised scheme for enabling them to obtain the necessary advances at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum, instead of the 20 to 40 per cent. which they paid to the village moneylender, was put in operation by the joint action of the National Bank of Egypt and the Government. And subsequently, in 1902, the Agricultural Bank was founded for the purpose of extending the work of supplying loans at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Redemption of Egypt (Chapter on Local Government and the Condition of the Fellaheen), by the writer.

reasonable rates of interest to the cultivators, thus initiated by Sir Elwin Palmer.

These and other efforts, such as the establishment of Savings Banks, failed, however, to release the fellaheen from their economic bondage to the usurer. There were more reasons than one for this. The poorer fellah, as a class, dreading the journey to the nearest large town and the publicity of the Bank's transactions, preferred the ease and readiness of the money-lender, for all his exorbitance, to the Bank. On the other hand, the facilities offered by the Bank were abused in two directions.

Advances, obtained at low rates of interest were applied to objects other than the development of the borrower's land; and the clients of the Bank, realising that it was difficult for it to enforce payment, both on account of the number of defaulters, and also because legal proceedings were, in the then state of the law, both lengthy and expensive, took advantage of these facts to postpone the fulfilment of their obligations, with the result that at the end of January, 1910, there were 40,000 debtors in default.

At the same time, the Bank was subjected to unfriendly criticism on account of the number of the proceedings which it had instituted in the courts—a course of action which could not be avoided without sacrificing the legitimate interests of the shareholders, and thereby endangering the permanence of the institution.

It was with these facts before them that, at the close of 1911, Lord Kitchener and his

associates in the Anglo-Egyptian Administration applied themselves to the problem of the emancipation of the fellaheen. The result was the scheme of interdependent measures, calculated, in one direction or another, to promote the economic and social progress of the small cultivator, which has just been put into operation. Of these measures, some have been brought to the notice of the reader in connection with other phases of the development of Egypt. An account of the new electoral system, which, in conjunction with the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a predominant elective element, is intended especially to arouse the interest of the fellaheen in the conduct of national affairs, has been given in an earlier chapter; since this system marks a direct advance in the development of representative institutions.

The arrangements for enabling the fellah to obtain pure cotton-seed at a moderate price, and upon credit, from the Government, and for securing to him the full value of his cotton crop by the establishment of the official cotton markets, have been described as one among the various efforts which are being made to increase the cotton production of Egypt and the Sudan. The foregoing statement of the circumstances, and special weaknesses and difficulties, of the fellaheen will make the purpose and utility of the remaining measures, in each case, readily apparent.

#### THE CANTONAL COURTS

In the establishment of a system of village justice, the introduction of a type of rural school in which manual exercises and other practical instruction will supersede largely the wearisome recitation of the Koran, and the construction of roads in country districts, we have efforts to improve the general conditions under which the mass of the country population live and work. Of these three measures only the first needs any

explanation.

The object of the law creating Cantonal Courts—the area of the canton being such as to include only a few villages—is 'to bring the trial of petty civil and criminal cases nearer to the doors of the people by instituting in the country districts a system of rough and ready justice to be administered by unpaid local notabilities.' And it may be added that the measure revives, with the necessary safeguards and improvements, the primitive village courts, styled Meglis Daawi, and consisting of the Shiekh-el-Beled <sup>1</sup> and two notables elected by the villagers, which were in operation prior to the reconstruction of the Native Tribunals in 1883.

Of the actual working of the Cantonal Courts, Lord Kitchener writes: the unpaid magistrates 'will work under the supervision of the judge of the Markaz (district) town and have power to decide claims in ordinary cases up to a limit of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Village headman.

£E.5 to £E.10, rectifications of field boundaries, and other small local matters. Their duties will also include the registration of Acts or Deeds in their districts, which will be a useful check on forgery or fraud. The procedure of the Cantonal Courts will enable the magistrates to judge on the spot on the evidence before them and to give

effect to local usage.

'One of their principal duties will be to reconcile adversaries and to make up local quarrels. The Markaz judge can at any time inspect, and himself sit as a Justice of the Peace in any Cantonal Court within the circumscription of his Markaz. The local settlement of small debts and disputes will relieve the fellaheen from long journeys to the Markaz Tribunal, either as parties or witnesses, and save the fees entailed in a case in those Courts, which frequently amount to more than the total claimed.' 1

### THE FIVE FEDDAN LAW

These measures have been accompanied by others directly intended to combat one or other of the economic evils to which the small cultivator is most exposed. Of these, the most important is the Five Feddan, or Homestead Exemption, Law of 1912. The abuse by dishonest landowners of the facilities for borrowing afforded by the Agricultural Bank, noticed above, has provided an instance of the general need for simplifying

<sup>1</sup> Report for 1912.

and amending the procedure for the seizure and sale of land in the Mixed Tribunals, which had been felt by European creditors and mortgage institutions for many years. But the fact that the consent of the Powers had to be obtained to any change in the provisions of the Mixed Code proved so serious an obstacle to any progress in the matter, that the amending legislation could not be enacted, until in 1911 the General Assembly of the Mixed Court of Appeal was constituted a Legislative authority with power (within certain

limits) to bind foreigners.

Into the law by which this long-delayed reform of the procedure of the Mixed Courts was effected. the Five Feddan Law was incorporated, as being a necessary corollary and complement to it, and thus became applicable to foreigners. 'While, indeed, facilitating and accelerating execution proceedings in general,' the Judicial Adviser wrote, 'the Government considered it essential to take measures for preventing the wholesale eviction by ruthless creditors of the owners and cultivators of small holdings—an interesting and defenceless class of the community whose expulsion in large numbers from the small farms from which they and their family alone derive their substance is opposed to the best interests of an agricultural State like Egypt.'

The model for the new law was found in India, where the ryot, who greatly resembled the fellah, had been protected recently from the 'blood-sucking' Bunia. Under the provisions of the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, 'moneylenders, shopkeepers, and professional men are

not permitted to buy land from hereditary cultivators, or to hold such land on mortgage for more than twenty years, without the consent of the State; and the land of a hereditary cultivator cannot be sold in satisfaction of a debt. Sales of land are only permitted between agriculturists, or where, by the sale of part, the whole debt is paid off.' And the Judicial Adviser points out that the principle of exemption is recognised in the Homestead Exemption Laws of the United States, and by the institution of the 'bien de famille insaisissable' in France.

The actual text of the exemption Article in the

new law (as translated) is :-

'Article 2.—The agricultural holdings of farmers who do not own more than five feddans (aeres) of land cannot be seized for debt. This exemption from seizure includes the dwelling-house of such farmers and their dependencies, as well as two draft animals, and the agricultural implements necessary for the cultivation of the said land.'

At the same time, privileged creditors, and all secured creditors registered at the time when the Act came into force, were excluded from the operation of this exemption; and, on the initiative of the Legislative Assembly of the Mixed Court of Appeal, it was laid down that immunity cannot be set up as a defence against claims for damages arising from the commission of crimes or misdemeanours.<sup>1</sup>

Among the criticisms to which the Five Report of the Judicial Adviser, included in Egypt, No. 1 (1913).

Feddan Law has been subjected, two require notice:—

(1) The poorer fellah will be prevented by his incapacity to mortgage his land from obtaining the advances necessary for the cultivation and improvement of his holding. In reply to this it is pointed out, that seed is now provided by Government, payment for which is deferred until after the crops have been harvested; while for the cultivation of a holding of only five acres the fellah and his family themselves provide the necessary labour. And Lord Kitchener adds, that in the districts of India, to which the Punjab Law has been applied, both the credit of the small proprietors and the value of the land, as a whole, have increased. Moreover, the fellah can always obtain advances upon his crops sufficient to meet working expenses.

(2) In order to borrow from the money-lender the fellah will find—or the money-lender will find for him—a method of evading the law. To this Lord Kitchener replies, that precisely the same criticism was directed against the Punjab Law, and that in India it has been falsified by the event; but that, if evasion on any considerable scale should occur, legislation for checking

it will be introduced.

As a sequel to the Five Feddan Law, Commissions to inquire into the extent and nature of the debts of the fellaheen have been instituted by the Government in every Markaz, with power to take evidence on oath. It is hoped that the complete record of the liabilities resting on the land, thus to be obtained, will place the

Government in a position to deal effectively with the question of the indebtedness of the fellaheen in all its bearings.

#### OTHER MEASURES

A second and distinct effort, which is, however, ancillary to the main purpose of the new law, is the experiment of enabling fellaheen who have lost their holdings, or are otherwise landless, to obtain land under a system of deferred payment. With this end in view, an area of some 700 acres of waste Government land at Biala, in the Delta, was equipped partially for cultivation, provided with drains and irrigation channels, etc., at a cost of £5 per acre, and divided up into plots of five acres. These holdings have been given to fellaheen upon terms which give them a virtual freehold, subject to the repayment of the capital outlay by instalments spread over a term of years.

As the experiment has proved successful, a proportion of the waste land which is being reclaimed by drainage works, has been assigned for similar holdings; and it is hoped thus 'to relieve the great congestion in some parts of Egypt, such as Munufia, where the percentage of population per acre is greater than in any

European country.'

Two further measures complete the scheme for rescuing the fellaheen from the toils of the usurer. The first is the addition, in 1912, to

the Native Penal Code of an article which provides penalties (fine or imprisonment) for persons convicted of making loans at a rate exceeding the maximum allowed for interest by agreement (9 per cent. per annum). The second is the adapting of the system of the Post Office Savings Bank to the conditions of the

rural population.

While the savings bank, established in 1900, had been used by the small depositors of the towns, it had failed to attract the same class in the country districts. The latter circumstance was attributed in part to the reluctance of the fellaheen to entrust their money to a bank of any kind, but chiefly to the fact that 'the service of the bank was not sufficiently extensive to bring it into touch with the villages.' The defect has been remedied by authorising the village Tax Collector to receive deposits from one piastre (2½d.) upwards, and to repay sums on demand; and thus the facilities of the savings bank have been brought to the doors of the most isolated villagers.

### REGULATION OF THE NATIVE PRESS

It will be remembered that one of the objects sought to be accomplished by raising the social and economic conditions of the agricultural population is to create a volume of representative public opinion in Egypt, which will drown the shrill falsetto of the Turco-Egyptian, Syrian,

and Armenian 'Nationalists.' The question of the regulation of the Native Press has a direct connection, therefore, with that of the emanci-

pation of the fellaheen.

Since the date of the Anglo-French Agreement (1904), the European Press, apart from a few obscure papers of the lowest type, has given little or no ground for complaint. The case of the vernacular Press is wholly different. Cromer, as is well known, favoured the policy of allowing freedom to the Press in Egypt; but of the contents of the vernacular Press he wrote in his last Report (i.e. for 1906) with sledgehammer restraint: 'I do not remember ever to have read in any of the newspapers of which I am now speaking, a single accurate, well-argued, or useful article on such matters as finance. education, or the working of the judicial system. On the whole, I think it may be said with truth that constant perusal of those vernacular papers which strongly advocate Egyptian autonomy is well calculated to convince any one who, like myself, is most desirous to afford reasonable sympathy to Egyptian aspirations, that the rapid realisation of those aspirations would be disastrous to the Egyptians themselves and to all interested in the welfare of Egypt.'

Sir Eldon Gorst, as before noticed, found the influence of the native Press so actively injurious that he denounced the Nationalist writers of the articles which appeared in it as morally responsible for the assassination of Boutros Pasha. Indeed, it would appear that in countries like India, Egypt, and, in a lesser degree, South

Africa, a vernacular Press can only live by appeals to the passions and religious prejudices of the native population. In other words, a native newspaper, unless it is to be run at a loss, or promptly closed down, must become in effect either a vehicle for the satisfaction of personal animosities, or an instrument of incitement to disorder.

This fact, once recognised, would seem to lay upon the Anglo-Egyptian Administration, as the authority responsible for the well-being of the country and its inhabitants, the duty of supervising the vernacular Press at least as carefully and efficiently as it supervises Education and Public Health. The fellaheen and the mass of the Arab-Egyptian population are, of course, too illiterate to read the vernacular papers themselves; but the injurious matter which these papers contain penetrates downwards through the traders, notables, and Sheikhs.

In recent years, as we have observed, in view of the disorders directly attributable to the organs of the Nationalist Party, the Government has armed itself with fresh powers for the suppression or suspension of seditious prints, and the detection and punishment of conspiracies. At the same time, since in this as in other matters 'prevention is better than cure,' it may be questioned whether such powers are sufficient in themselves to remedy the evil.

The Anglo-Egyptian Administration is compelled by the backward conditions of the country, and the greatness of the interval which separates its own moral and intellectual standards from

those of the mass of the population, to give a frankly paternal character to much of its legislation. If, therefore, in this matter of the native Press, it decided no longer to confine itself to measures of repression, but set itself to improve the methods and conditions of the vernacular papers, there would be nothing inconsistent in this course of action.

Assuming that the protection afforded by the Capitulations to European offenders could be removed, the Egyptian Government might require all writers in the vernacular Press to hold a licence; such licence to be granted only upon proof that the applicant possessed due qualifications for his important calling, and to be revokable upon evidence of misconduct. This measure, if practicable, would eliminate the least reputable papers, and thereby give the few survivors a prospect of securing commercial success by legitimate means.

### CHAPTER XI

#### EGYPT AND THE EMPIRE

THE official and recognised aim of Britain is to make the Egyptians capable of governing and defending themselves, and then to withdraw from the country. For the present, however, the execution of this policy is impossible; since, in the judgment of all competent observers, withdrawal now, or in the immediate future, would entail the loss of much of the hard-won cconomic progress already achieved, and cause such grave administrative disorder that a further intervention on the part of one or more of the European Powers would be inevitable. And moreover, as the possession of Egypt by any foreign Power in the circumstances of to-day would be a direct menace to the safety of the Empire, Britain herself would be compelled to forestall such a contingency by resuming herself the occupation of the country.

The British Occupation, therefore, may be expected to continue until the process of national regeneration has been accomplished. This process, by the nature of things, must be a lengthy one. How lengthy the foregoing pages have shown; since, in them we have seen that, in spite of the immense gain in administrative efficiency, and the rapid development of the material resources of the country, the work of preparing the people

of Egypt for Parliamentary government has only

just begun.

In short, many years, possibly some generations. must elapse before Egypt can become a selfgoverning and self-defending State; and in the meantime, unless she is wrested away by some great political convulsion, she will remain under the control of Britain, being, in fact, though not in name, a part of the British Empire. While, therefore, the ultimate termination of the 'veiled Protectorate' of to-day is thus conditionally, but none the less definitely, contemplated by British policy, the nature of Egypt's relationship to the Empire is by no means an irrelevant subject of consideration. On the contrary, it provides the material out of which answers can best be found to the two crucial questions: 'Will Egypt gain by incorporation into the Empire?' and 'Is it worth while for the Empire to incorporate Egypt?'

In theory, Egypt is a portion of the Turkish Empire. The Egyptians are Ottoman subjects. The Khedive has no power to cede the territory of the Sultan, or to make peace or war; nor can he appoint a diplomatic representative at the seat of any foreign Government. In return for the rights conferred upon him by the Sovereign (or Suzerain) Power, he pays an annual tribute of £720,000; but he is forbidden to build ironclads without permission, or to raise the Egyptian

Army beyond the limit of 18,000 men.

But in practice, while the tribute is duly rendered and the limitations upon the defensive forces are observed, Great Britain does not permit any interference on the part of Turkey in the affairs of Egypt. The attempt of Turkey to wrest the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt in 1905 was immediately resisted; and in the case of the two recent wars in which Turkey was engaged—first with Italy in 1911, and then with the Balkan States in 1912—so far from the Khedive being called upon to furnish troops for the defence of the Sovereign Power, the Anglo-Egyptian Administration declared and maintained the

neutrality of Egypt.

During the continuance of the British control. it is probable that the Sovereign rights of Turkey will fall increasingly into abeyance. But when, and if, the withdrawal was effected, the position would be very different. To regain full sovereignty over this populous and highly developed Moslem State—as Egypt by that time would have become-would be a natural aim of Turkish statesmanship. Nor would such an ambition seem to be wholly incapable of realisation. If, as is possible, the Turkish Government is led by its recent loss of territory in Europe to develop and consolidate its Asiatic provinces. the extension of the already existing railway communication between Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia, will render the rapid concentration of troops within striking distance of the Isthmus of Suez a feasible operation, in spite of the 150 miles of desert which now bar the landward approach to Egypt of an army advancing from Asia. While, however, Egypt would be thus exposed to invasion by Turkey, she is now, and probably would be then, sufficiently protected from the like attempt on the part of her European neighbour, Italy, by the 400 miles of desert which

separate her from Tripoli.

But against the much more likely contingency of an invasion by sea, she would be entirely unprotected, unless, indeed—what is most improbable—she had created a navy. On the south, assuming that Britain were neutral, she would be secure; since the Sudan and beyond would be in British hands.¹ In short, nothing but the protection of one or more of the European Powers would enable an 'independent' Egypt to escape from re-absorption into the Turkish Empire. More than one Power, no doubt, would be willing to perform this service for her at the price of her independence.

But the possession of Egypt by a single Power would conflict with the separate interests of other Powers; and, as it would be recognised on all sides that the matter was one which must be dealt with by a collective Europe, it would probably be arranged that Egypt, like the Suez Canal, should be neutralised by international agreement. Unless, however, by the time that this was done, arbitration had taken the place of war as the ultimate method of settling disputes between nations, it is doubtful whether the neutrality of Egypt, or that of the Canal, would be respected by a powerful belligerent.

<sup>1</sup> Direct railway communication between the Red Sea littoral at Port Sudan and Khartum has been established for some time past. On the other hand, the break in the railway from Cairo to Khartum—about 200 miles from Shellal to Wadi Halfa—still remains.

And thus in the end, Egypt, as a Europeanised international State, would be saved from absorption into Turkey, but otherwise left exposed to invasion by any Power which might happen to be driven by imperious need to occupy her territory. Nor must it be forgotten that even the enjoyment of this modified security from external attacks would be conditional upon the goodwill of Britain; since the Power that controlled the Middle and Upper Nile could at any time reduce Egypt to submission by depriving her, in whole or in part, of the water-supply upon which the very existence of her people is dependent.

With one reservation, this, or something very like it, would be the position of Egypt if she were severed from the British Empire within a measurable period of years from the present time. In this forecast it has been assumed that any attempt on the part of Turkey to revive her sovereign rights would be resisted by an effective majority of the inhabitants of Egypt. But Turkey—the 'sick man'—once again has a

chance of recovery.

It is possible, therefore, on the other hand, that Egypt might desire to form part of a reformed and consolidated Turkey, and that the concert of Europe might favour the growth of an Asiatic and Moslem State strong enough to maintain the neutrality of the Suez Canal in ordinary circumstances, but not strong enough to tempt a great Power to seek its alliance in any enterprise that threatened the peace of the world.

The likelihood of this contingency would

depend upon the degree of progress attained by Turkey in the near future. The interests of Europe require a competent and stable Government in Egypt; and the Powers could not be expected to consent to the absorption of so important a country by Turkey, unless they had reason to believe that the process would not entail any loss of administrative efficiency. In other words, to secure the consent of Europe to the union of Egypt and Turkey the Government of Turkey must have reached a condition of administrative efficiency at least equal to that attained by the Government of Egypt on emerging from the training-school of the British control. But, having regard to the dubious character of the races-Armenian, Syrian, Levantine, Arab-who, with the Turks, make up the population of Turkey, not even the most convinced of her well-wishers can look forward to the attainment of such a consummation with any degree of confidence.

If this be a probable estimate of the circumstances of Egypt as an 'independent' State, the advantages which she would gain by incorporation into the British Empire are not far to seek. To protect her against invasion by sea, her gravest danger, she would have the fleets of a Power to whom the maintenance of supremacy at sea is a primary necessity of its world-wide system. To repel an invasion by land from Asia, apart from a British garrison, she could claim assistance from the Indian Army and the citizen forces of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. An identity of economic interest would

secure the maintenance and development of her

all-important water supply.

In return for these benefits she would incur no financial or military responsibilities but such as were undertaken voluntarily by all self-governing members of the Empire, while she would be called upon to make the least possible sacrifice of national aspirations compatible with the preservation of an organic union between herself and her fellow-States. For the nature of the British Empire is such that, more than any other political system of ancient or modern times, it can hold communities varying in civilisation and race, and yet find for each a fitting place in its hierarchy of States.

Egypt, on the other hand, like other countries which have come under British rule, has an organic relationship to the British Empire. That is to say, she performs certain definite functions, the cessation of which would affect, more or less directly, every other member of the Empire.

The two primary services which Egypt, as virtually a British possession, renders to the Empire are: (1) to secure the safety of the area of the Suez Canal, and (2) to provide a supply of raw cotton for the manufacturers of the United Kingdom. There is no need to repeat here what has been written already of the existing cotton production of Egypt, and the efforts which are being made to obtain a future and far more ample supply from the Nile Valley as a whole. But the figures which disclose the greatness of Britain's share in the business of the Suez Canal may be cited; since they afford the clearest

and most direct evidence of the actual degree in which the Empire is concerned in the performance of the first of these two services.

Of the 378,231 shares of the Suez Canal Company the British Government holds 176,000, or nearly one-half. The original value of the shares was £20, making a share capital of £7,554,620; but their present value is approximately £190, with a collective value of (approximately) £70,000,000, and the present value of the British holding is (approximately) £33,000,000. The part played by the Empire in bringing about this great increase of capital value is revealed by the Company's annual traffic returns.

Taking the latest available figures, we find that in the year 1911 a total of 4969 vessels of a collective net tonnage of 18,324,794, and paying dues to the amount of £5,522,000, passed through the Canal. Of this total, 3089 vessels, of a collective tonnage of 11,715,947, were British; Germany came second with 667 vessels and a tonnage of 2,790,963; and Holland third, with 284 vessels and a tonnage of 971,352. The relative predominance of British shipping—great as it is—has slightly declined, mainly through the growth of the German mercantile marine, in the last fifteen years; since, in 1898, the three highest totals were:—

		,	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Great Britain			2295	8,691,093
Germany .		٠	356	1,353,161
France .	•		221	891,642

And in the same year the tonnage of British vessels was approximately two-thirds of the whole (8,691,093 out of 12,962,632). In short, not only is the tonnage of the British shipping using the Canal to-day greater than that of all other nations combined, but in the past British sea-borne trade has contributed even more conspicuously to the success of the Canal as a commercial undertaking. And on this ground alone, therefore, by virtue of her large and beneficial participation in the business of the undertaking, Britain has an interest in the safety of the Canal which is incomparably greater than

that of any other Power.

But Britain's interest in the Canal does not stop here. The political system of which she is the centre is essentially a maritime system. The communities that owe allegiance to the British crown are scattered throughout the world, and communication between them is maintained by sea and not by land. The passage of the vessels which carry the various streams of men and women, food-stuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles that flow outward and homeward. and from one territory to another, is a continuous and vitally necessary function of this system; and it is to prevent even the temporary interruption of this vital function of the Empire that the supremacy of British sea-power must be maintained at all costs.

As, therefore, the vessels which ply between Europe and Asia, and the British shipping which gives regular communication between Britain and India, the Far East, Australia, New Zealand,

and the East Coast of Africa are gathered into the eighty-seven miles of the Suez Canal, the territories which lie around this narrow waterway form a strategic area of great importance, and Egypt, the key to this area, has been, and is, an appreciable factor in the maintenance of British supremacy at sea.

For sea-power does not consist merely in a superiority of tonnage, armament, and personnel. Mobility and recuperative power are also essential elements in the successful conduct of naval operations; and to secure these qualities fleets and battleships, convenient bases supply, where stores, fuel, and materiel can be obtained, and harbours with docks and workshops

for repair, are necessary.

The neutralisation of the Sucz Canal was accepted as a sequel to the Anglo-French Declaration of 1904. But the Powers which made this arrangement can unmake it: and if at any time it suited the interests of a majority of them to retract their previous consent, they might quite well take this course. In any case, under existing conditions, the closing of the canal would interfere so seriously with the unfettered freedom of communication by sea which is a first essential in the defence of the Empire, that Great Britain cannot afford to take any risks in the matter. Against this danger Egypt, in British hands, provides the best available protection.

There is, however, a consideration affecting the value of Egypt, as a factor in the defence of the Empire, which must not be overlooked. It is by no means certain that the strategic importance of the Suez Canal area, and of the Canal itself, is as great to-day, or will continue to be as great in the future, as it has been in the

past.

In the first place, it is an open question whether, in the event of war, the defence of the Empire and the protection of its sea-borne commerce would not be carried out more effectively by the elimination of the Mediterranean from the seas over which British naval supremacy was to be maintained; and in this case the British ocean traffic would be diverted, in whole or in part, from the Mediterranean-Sucz to the Atlantic-Cape route. In the second place, the adoption of the principle of the elimination of the Mediterranean is favoured by the development of British sea and land power, now in progress, in regions southward of the Sucz Canal area.

The main elements in this development are: (1) the establishment of Britain as the dominant power on the East Coast of Africa, with a system embracing the Sudan, Uganda, British East Africa, British Central Africa, and Rhodesia, north and south; (2) the expansion of the Indian Empire and its (probable) closer connection with the British East African system; (3) the organisation and training of citizen forces by the dominions of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, with the foundation of local navies by the two latter; and (4) the 'linking-up' for defence purposes of these dominions with India and East Africa.

Even so, making allowance for the gradual

and progressive diminution of the strategic importance of the Suez Canal area, Egypt will continue to be an appreciable factor in the defence of the Empire; and it is safe to assume that, however quickly the people of Egypt may become competent to govern themselves, Britain will not withdraw, except upon terms that would leave her free to resume military control of the country in the event of internal disturbance or external menace. Excepting, as always, the occurrence of revolutionary changes in the international commitments and relative importance of the great nations of the world, the responsibility of withdrawal without such safeguards would be one which no British Minister would incur.

If, then, as would seem to be the case, the most that a Nationalist Party could hope to secure for Egypt would be a conditional independence of this character, it is not unreasonable to expect that, before the time for decision comes, the interests of the trading and agricultural classes will bring about even among the native population a recognition of the advantages of full incorporation into the Empire.

The conclusions to which the foregoing con-

siderations point, are these :-

Egypt, if severed from the British Empire, must expect (1) absorption into Turkey, or (2) the status of a protected international State, or (3) independence subject to a right of reoccupation on the part of Britain.

The 'official' British policy is to prepare Egypt for self-government, and then withdraw from the responsibilities directly entailed by the 'veiled Protectorate' of to-day. And, as we have seen, everything calculated to give effect to the intentions of the British Government is being done by its representatives in Egypt. But this policy is liable to be deflected, or altogether defeated, by unforeseen developments in the relations of the Great Powers, and by the action of the forces of matter and circumstance indicated collectively in the vague but convenient expression 'natural

destiny.'

Putting the unforeseen contingencies of worldpolitics on one side-since, being unforeseen, they cannot enter into our calculations—the forces which make up the natural destiny of Egypt would seem, with one exception, to tend to render this country eventually a permanent member of the British Empire. This one exception, however, the instinct of nationality, which tends to make Egypt become a separate and independent State, is not only in itself a powerful force, but it is one which international opinion is increasingly loath to oppose. For, in a democratic era it is recognised, as a great British administrator 1 has put it, that 'government is such an imperfect business at the best, that it is more important that people should have the system which they like, than, if possible, a better system which they like less.

The factors, therefore, which in the long run may be expected to decide the future of Egypt, are, on the one hand, the extent to which the

<sup>1</sup> Lord Milner: with reference to the otherwise premature grant of responsible government to the Transvaal.

economic and political ties that bind the Nile Valley to the British Empire may be developed. and, on the other, the character, hostile or friendly, which the sentiment of Egyptian nationality may ultimately assume. If the ties already created, and the fresh ties which will be created so long as the British control is maintained, prove strong enough to overcome the separatist force exerted by the instinct for national independence, then Egypt, when she becomes fit for self-government, will become a member of the British Empire in name as well as in fact.

If these ties are not strong enough, or if something should occur to mar their present efficiency or hinder their subsequent development, then no doubt the desires of the people at large will merge with those of the so-called Nationalists of to-day, who are even now opposed to the continuance of the British control. In this case Britain, having secured the right to reoccupy the country if necessary, when once the work of social and political preparation has been accomplished, would not hesitate to set Egypt free to manage her affairs in her own way.



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3-



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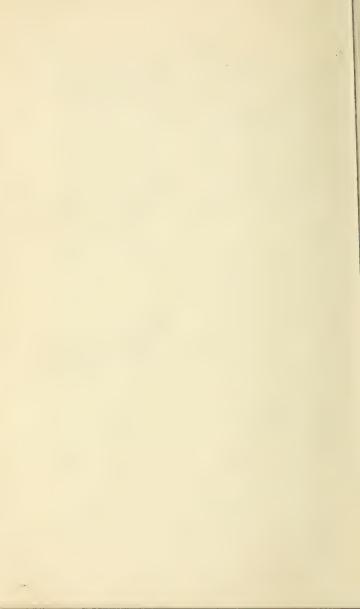
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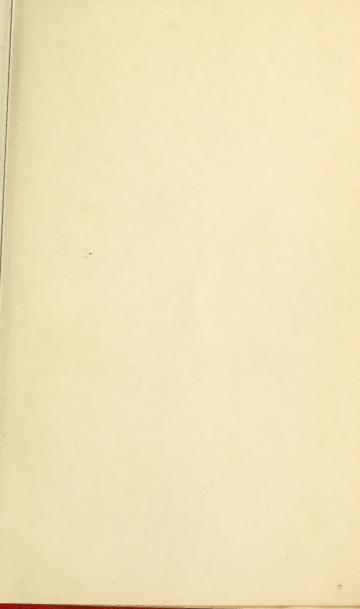
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